Perspective Matters:
Concordance in Parental Academic Socialization in Black Parent-Adolescent Dyads

by

Latisha L. Ross

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Stephanie Rowley, Chair
Professor Tabbye Chavous
Professor Kai Cortina
Professor Jacqueline Mattis
Professor Vonnie McLoyd

Latisha L. Ross

llross@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0003-1274-005X

Dedication

For my beloved son, for my family, and for
all of those passionate about the education and well-being of Black children.
Let Us lift as We climb.

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Preface

This work set out in search of the Justice we seek for Ourselves, for those that came before Us, and those who will come after Us. The burden of fighting for equity, educational and all forms of societal equity, weighs upon Us and We labor each day to love, strengthen, soothe, and equip Our children as best We know how. My parental academic socialization work began as an attempt to understand some of the messages We may use to spur Our adolescent children on towards greater motivation and achievement in one of the most challenging contexts that They encounter each weekday and must learn to navigate for Themselves: school.

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Abstract

Parental academic socialization (PAS) is the collection of academic messages, school-related parent-child interactions, and parenting behaviors (N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009) parents use to convey their academic values, beliefs, expectations, and assessment of their child's academic performance. When parents speak with their child frequently about school and learning experiences, that child has greater motivation, engagement, and achievement outcomes (Finn, 1993). However, research has just begun to capture the content of these conversations (i.e., PAS) and their effects on achievement and motivation. The dissertation investigated the impact of four PAS messages (i.e., effort, balance, pressure, and shame) on Black adolescents' outcomes of psychological well-being, persistence in classroom tasks, preparation for academic tasks, grade point average, and student competence. The research examines parent-adolescent PAS concordance, and relations between PAS and adolescent academic motivation, performance, and engagement.

The data utilized were a subset of survey data collected annually between 2010 and 2014 from 308 Black adolescents in grades six to twelve, one of their parents, and a major subject teacher from three suburban Midwestern school districts. Parents and adolescents reported on the occurrence of four PAS messages (i.e., effort, balance, pressure, and shame) using a modified version of the Education Socialization Scale (ESS, Bempechat et al., 1999). Parents (P), adolescents (A), and teachers (T) reported adolescent outcomes of psychological well-being (A), academic persistence (A, T), grade point average (A), preparation for academic tasks (A, P), and student academic competence (T).

In an examination of PAS concordance between parents and adolescents, the current study found more agreement between parent-adolescent dyads than reported in previous research by employing a latent profile analysis (LPA) to assess relative, rather than absolute, agreement between socialization informants. In contrast to previous research, the current study demonstrated that parent-adolescent PAS concordance was not always associated with optimal adolescent outcomes. Outcomes were worse for adolescents whose parents reported much more pressure or shame messages than they did and better when parents reported many fewer pressure or shame messages than they did.

Both parent and adolescent PAS messages were directly linked to adolescent outcomes of interest. PAS messages of pressure and shame were negatively related to adolescent outcomes. PAS effort message findings were complex. Parent reports of effort messages were negatively related to outcomes. However, adolescent reports of effort messages were positively linked to well-being and persistence-A. Parents' balance messages were unrelated to adolescent outcomes. However, adolescent reports of balance messages were positively related to well-being, persistence-A, and preparation and negatively related to persistence-T and student competence-T. Adolescent PAS reports mediated the relationship between parent reports and adolescent outcomes in most cases.

My findings suggest that is it important to examine the content of the PAS messages and their impact on achievement. My study unearthed complex findings that suggest that pressure and shame messages may compromise achievement while effort and balance messages have both

positive and negative implications for adolescents' psychological well-being and academic functioning. Thus, not all PAS has a positive impact on achievement.

These results suggest that both parent and adolescent PAS perspectives matter in unique ways to adolescent outcomes. Additionally, my work offers support for Eccles' model of parental influences (Eccles, 2007) and expectancy value theory (Eccles & Harold, 1983) suggesting that parenting practices have both a direct and indirect influence on achievement outcomes via child socialization perspectives.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The current dissertation will examine parent academic socialization (PAS) messages and their relation to the academic engagement, motivation, and performance of Black adolescents. This work examines parent and adolescent perspectives of PAS to test the theory that parenting behaviors have an effect on child outcomes via adolescent perceptions of parenting behaviors. This research will address three major limitations in the literature: 1) the lack of attention to the content of PAS messages, 2) the reliance on single informant data; and 3) the primary use of cross-racial/ethnic research designs. The research herein captures four types of PAS messages (i.e., effort, balance, pressure, and shame) as reported by both parents and adolescents to investigate relations to adolescent academic motivation, performance, and engagement.

Parental Academic Socialization

It is important to understand the best ways to prepare children to do well in academic contexts. Parents are children's first and most important socializers (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000). Parents help their children feel confident in their ability to persist and succeed, push them to reach their potential, and help them cope with challenges along the way (Suizzo, Pahlke, Yarnell, Chen, & Romero, 2014). Parents accomplish this via academic socialization. Parental academic socialization (PAS) is the collection of academic messages, school-related parent-child interactions, and parenting behaviors (N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009) parents use to convey their academic values, beliefs, expectations, and

assessment of their child's academic performance. Through these interactions, children learn to interpret their academic experiences, build academic motivation and persistence, manage their engagement with academic content, and further develop their academic selves and skills (Eccles, 2007; Taylor, Clayton, Rowley, 2004).

PAS is a mechanism through which parents influence the academic processes and outcomes of their children. Traditionally, research on parent involvement has examined ways in which parental involvement behaviors influence children's academic development (Fantuzzo, Tighe, & Childs, 2000; N. E. Hill, 2001a; N. E. Hill & Craft, 2003; N. E. Hill & Taylor, 2004; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; McWayne, Owsianik, Green, & Fantuzzo, 2008). However, as children transition to middle and high school they require more autonomy (D. L. Stevenson & Baker, 1987) and parents adjust their involvement behaviors in response to this need (Pelton, Prescott, & Dornbusch, 1986). Thus, parents begin to rely more on academic socialization, a verbal form of involvement, rather than behavioral forms of involvement with the child's school (i.e., home-based and school-based involvement; (N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009).

In my discussion of extant PAS research I use the terms child, adolescent, and student interchangeably. The research I review herein discusses parenting, parental involvement, and academic socialization in families of children in K-16 education that varies in the term used to refer to children. It has been noted that as children age and develop greater autonomy needs, parents' involvement shifts from school-based engagement towards at-home parent-child interactions regarding school (N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009). PAS messages are considered to be a form of parental involvement that is sustained by parents as adolescent autonomy needs increase (N. E. Hill & Tyson). My discussion of this work considers the ways in which this body of literature is relevant for early- to mid-adolescent achievement and development.

From Parental Involvement to PAS

Parental involvement scholarship describes parents' general socialization practices (Eccles & Harold, 1993), like parent involvement "expressions," and encouragement of their child's academic effort, work, and achievement offered during involvement activities (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997) as predictors of academic success (C. L. Green, Walker, Hoover Dempsey, & Sandler, 2007). These academic parent-child interactions have been positively linked to achievement (Finn, 1993; N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Sui-Chu & Willms, 1996). For example, when parents frequently talk with their eighth-grade child about schoolwork and future school plans, the child has greater academic performance and engagement than a child whose parents talk with them about school less frequently (Finn, 1993). Such findings might lead to a "more is better" perspective in the context of parental involvement and child academic outcomes, Yet, this work does not explain the content of parents' expressions or encouragement (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997), only if or how frequently they occur. However, more frequent parental involvement is not always associated with better child achievement. Research has noted situations in which more parental involvement has been associated with lower academic achievement for some students (Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack, 2007). For instance, parent involvement accompanied by negative affect or frequent negative messaging can have a negative effect on the child's academic motivation and performance, yet parents' positive affect during homework help has a positive impact on children academic motivation (Pomerantz, Wang, & Ng, 2005). This research highlights the effects of context and content of parent-child academic interactions and debunks the "more is better" myth. Assessing the content of messages exchanged during parent-child academic interactions or tone of these interactions can shed light on the ways in which more

parent involvement may not always be best for the academic functioning of children.

Although research on PAS messages and child academic outcomes is in its infancy, scholars have begun to conceptualize academic messages shared between parents and children as a potential parent involvement practice (Bempechat, Graham, & Jimenez, 1999; N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Mordkowitz & Ginsburg, 1986; Rogers, Theule, Ryan, Adams, & Keating, 2009; Suizzo & Soon, 2006) and to account for the content of parents' academic messages as a form of socialization (Bempechat et al., 1999; Eccles & Harold, 1993) that influences child academic outcomes. Research on the content of PAS messages has begun to establish links between specific academic messages parents communicate and their child's academic motivation and performance (Bempechat & Drago-Severson, 1999; Bempechat, London, & Dweck, 1991; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2010; Fantuzzo et al., 2000; Frome & Eccles, 1998; McWayne et al., 2008; McWayne, Hampton, Fantuzzo, Cohen, & Sekino, 2004; Natale, Aunola, & Nurmi, 2009; Spera, 2005; Weiner, 2010; Yee & Eccles, 1988). The most prominently studied messages are: the importance of academic effort, pressure to perform to parents' academic standards, shame for not meeting academic standards, and, to a lesser extent, balancing one's well-being or happiness with one's academic strivings (Bempechat et al., 1999; Ross, 2013; Suizzo & Soon, 2006). These messages are referred to as effort, pressure, shame, and balance respectively and are the focus of this study.

Cross-sectional research on distinguishing PAS messages has identified numerous relations between specific messages and academic functioning (Bempechat et al., 1999; Rogers et al., 2009). For instance, parents' messages of pressure and shame are negatively linked to academic functioning (Ross, 2013); when parents place more pressure on their adolescent, or respond with shameful messages to less than ideal performance, adolescents report less

engagement with new material, diminished persistence when they encounter difficulties with classroom material (Ross, 2013), and lower test scores in math and reading (Rogers et al., 2009). Likewise, PAS messages of encouragement and support are positively associated with child engagement and motivation (Suizzo & Soon, 2006). For example, (Paulson, 1994) found positive relations between parent and adolescent reports of parents' values towards achievement, a construct very similar to PAS effort messages, and White adolescents' achievement. Also, Ross (2013) found positive relations between parent-reported effort messages and Black adolescents' classroom engagement. However other research did not find any relation between Black parents' values toward achievement and adolescent achievement (D. Hayes, 2012),. Relations between parents' messages of the importance of hard work and effort, messages stressing a need for balance (i.e., balancing hard work and time for relaxation/fun), and child academic development and performance have been mixed (Ross, 2013). Such mixed findings in the literature may be a function of several limitations in the ways that PAS has been measured and conceptualized.

Limitations of Parental Academic Socialization Research

PAS findings confirm that specifying the content of PAS messages is important to understanding the nuance and context by which parents influence the academic development (motivation and engagement) of adolescents. However, this research has three major limitations: 1) reliance on single informant data (that of a parent or child only; most work privileges child reports), 2), failure to capture multiple dimensions/types of PAS messages and their relation to adolescents' academic outcomes and 3) reliance on predominately White samples or cross-racial/ethnic comparisons. Each limitation is reviewed in more detail below.

Why Do Socialization Informants Matter?

Scholars suggest that parents and adolescents co-construct the parent-child relationship together (Sameroff, 1991). Each dyad/triad member is an active participant that responds to the behaviors of the other(s), thus engaging in an iterative process where parent-child interactions build upon one another to form a pattern of experiences and norms that establish the parent-child relationship (Bell, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Sameroff, 1991). At the same time both parents and children hold their own, different, perspectives of parenting and family processes within the parent-child relationship (Janssens et al., 2014). Adolescents tend to view the family more negatively than parents (Ohannessian, Lerner, Lerner, & Eye, 1995) and parents report more positive parenting behaviors than their adolescents (Scott, Briskman, & Dadds, 2011). Although multiple perspectives of parent-child relationship and interaction are valid and have consequence for a variety of child outcomes, researchers continue to grapple with how to handle both parent and child perspectives in research design and analyses.

PAS Informants and Outcomes

Both parent and child perspectives predict child outcomes. Specifically, parents' reports of PAS messages of effort were positively related with children's classroom engagement and GPA (Paulson, 1994; Ross, 2013; Suizzo et al., 2012) and parents' messages of pressure were negatively associated with classroom engagement (Rogers et al., 2009; Ross, 2013). Likewise children's reports of effort PAS messages were positively associated with GPA (De Los Reyes, Salas, Menzer, & Daruwala, 2013; Paulson, 1994) and children's academic determination (Ohannessian & De Los Reyes, 2014; Suizzo et al., 2012).Children's reports of pressure PAS messages were also negatively related to achievement (Hunsley & Mash, 2007; Rogers et al., 2009). However, much of the research on parenting, PAS and child academic engagement and

motivation relies on single informant data, privileging either parents' reports of their practices or children's experiences of these practices. Such methods present a skewed view of PAS and child academic outcome relations as parent and child socialization perspectives are differentially related to child outcomes. For example, mother and father reported supportive behaviors are negatively associated with adolescents' depression, yet adolescent reports of parents' support are unrelated to adolescents' depression (Janssens et al., 2014).

There are benefits to capturing multiple perspectives when examining an interpersonal construct, such as parenting or parent-child interactions, Researchers can obtain a closer approximation of actual socialization practices and processes by using multiple informant data (Barry, Frick, & Grafeman, 2008; De Los Reyes et al., 2013; Pelegrina, García-Linares, & Casanova, 2003; Scott et al., 2011)and assessing both the child's perspective of the parenting they experience and parents' reports of their own efforts. Researchers advocate using multiple informant data as a good practice for "understanding the similarities and differences among family members' perspectives" and assert that such multiple perspective data "yields useful predictive information that cannot be obtained from studying these perspectives in isolation from one another" (Hughes, Bachman, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2006; Ohannessian & De Los Reyes, 2014), p. 1). Scholars suggest, "it is now commonly accepted that, because of differing perspectives, [parent and child] informant ratings will not be interchangeable but can each provide potentially valuable assessment data" of child and family functioning (Hunsley & Mash, 2007; Ohannessian, Lerner, & Lerner, 2000; Pelegrina et al., 2003), p 43; see also De Los Reyes et al., 2013). Moreover, research suggests that parent and child reports vary in their ability to predict child outcomes, with child reports being more strongly and consistently related to child outcomes (Achenbach, McConaughy, & Howell, 1987; Barry et al., 2008; Pelegrina et al., 2003; Scott et

al., 2011).

There are many reasons to account for both parent and child perspectives of parenting (Achenbach et al., 1987; Ford, 2009; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Hughes et al., 2006; Overby, 2005; Scott et al., 2011). Parents may do and say things that the child never picks up on and children can misunderstand the messages parents send. Parents may miscommunicate messages they intend to offer or believe they are sending messages they never communicate to the child. Furthermore, parents have varied goals for the socialization of their children and parent responses to socialization measures may be more of a reflection of that socialization agenda rather than actual parenting behaviors. Including both parent and child perspectives in our models can represent the complexity and reciprocity that exists in interpersonal relationships like the parent-child relationship. In examining constructs that fall within the dynamic context of the parent-child relationship, researchers must take into account the reports of both the parent and child. This has been done by examining the concordance between parent- and child-reports of the same construct, and investigating the unique effects of each informant's perspective while controlling for the effect of the other dyad member's perspective. This, too, is the approach of the current research.

Concordance

Multiple perspectives have been a point of inquiry for scholars seeking to understand the effects of parenting and socialization on adolescent development (Achenbach et al., 1987; Aquilino, 1999; Feinberg, Howe, Reiss, & Hetherington, 2000; Ohannessian et al., 2000; Peck, Brodish, Malanchuk, Banerjee, & Eccles, 2014; Pelegrina et al., 2003; Ringoot et al., 2015). This concern has been validated by studies that have found inconsistencies between parent and child reports of the same phenomena via correlation coefficients (Achenbach et al., 1987; Bempechat,

1992; Ford, 2009; Grolnick et al., 1991; Hughes et al., 2006; Overby, 2005; Pelegrina et al., 2003; Scott et al., 2011). This body of work investigates whether there is (dis)agreement (conceptualized herein as concordance or discordance) between parent and child reports, and, to a far lesser extent, how discrepant parent-adolescent perspectives have an impact on adolescent behavior and outcomes. Generally, when parents and children report on similar constructs researchers find low levels of concordance (correlations of approximately .25) between parent and child informants (Achenbach et al., 1987; Aquilino, 1999; Ford, 2009; Grolnick et al., 1991; Hughes et al., 2006; Overby, 2005; Peck et al., 2014; Ringoot et al., 2015; Scott et al., 2011) and that parent-child discrepancies have negative relations to child outcomes (Achenbach et al., 1987; Aquilino, 1999; Feinberg et al., 2000; Peck et al., 2014; Ringoot et al., 2015; Y. Wang & Benner, 2013). With regard to socialization practices, there is considerable evidence that little agreement exists between parent and child perspectives (Achenbach et al., 1987; Bempechat, 1992; Chao, 2001; Ford, 2009; Grolnick et al., 1991; Hughes et al., 2006; Overby, 2005; Ross, 2013; Scott et al., 2011; Suizzo et al., 2012). However, this is true mainly when research relies on absolute indices of concordance (e.g., difference scores, presence versus absence of agreement; Sirotnik, 1981) or Pearson's correlations. Research using relative indices of concordance (e.g., odds ratios and latent profile/class analyses), generally finds more concordance than those using difference scores or correlations alone (Aquilino, 1999; Gutman & McLoyd, 2000; V. C. McLoyd & Randolph, 1984; Peck et al., 2014; Ringoot et al., 2015; Wong & Rowley, 2001).

Additionally, recent research using relative concordance indices in assessing parent-child discrepancies, highlights the importance of the direction and magnitude with which discrepancies occur. Ringoot et al. (2015) found substantive differences between concordant and

discordant/discrepant parent-child profiles of externalization and internalizing child behaviors by the direction with which discrepancies occurred. They found more positive family environments in parent-child discrepant dyads where both informants report below mean levels of child problem behaviors (children reported slightly more problem behaviors than parents) relative to the concordant parent-child dyads reporting average level problem behaviors. Discrepant dyads where parents reported much higher levels of problem behaviors than their children were the most likely to exhibit poor family functioning, harsh discipline, and children with cognitive difficulties relative to concordant dyads.

With regard to the magnitude of parent-adolescent discrepancies, (Y. Wang & Benner, 2013) found that large parent-adolescent discrepancies of educational attainment expectations were negatively associated with adolescents' academic performance. However, discrepancies where parents held higher expectations than children held for themselves were associated with higher grade point averages (GPA). Also, lower achievement test scores were found in adolescents with parents who held lower expectations than themselves. Taken together, these findings suggest that to best capture the complexity of the ways in which parent-adolescent discrepancies correspond to outcomes of interest, it is best to move beyond the consideration of whether or not a discrepancy exists and to use methods that can account for the mean level frequency at which parent-adolescent dyads (dis)agree, and the size and direction of discrepancies. The present research also utilizes this approach.

Moving Beyond Comparative PAS Research

Research examining parents' academic socialization messages is limited by its reliance on predominately White and/or racial/ethnic comparative designs. Racial/ethnic comparative work largely makes comparisons between racial/ethnic minorities and Whites. Comparative

literature may shed some light on the nature and function of PAS among families of color yet, these conclusions can only be made in comparison to White families. Such comparative methods treat families of color as a homogenous group and lend itself to making value comparisons across ethnic/racial groups by suggesting that one group of parents does a better/worse job of providing for their children's academic needs (Wong & Rowley, 2001). Additionally, comparative methods ignore the great variability in family functioning that is present within racial/ethnic minority groups and ultimately limits our understanding of how context and individual characteristics function in parenting and child outcome relations for racial/ethnic minority families. For example, research has documented the negative effect that parental pressure has on the academic achievement of White adolescents (Rogers et al, 2008). However, analysis of parent pressure in Asian American adolescents positive relations were found (Chao, 2000, 2001). Thus, although the literature on the impact of PAS on child outcomes has grown, much of this work cannot speak to the variability of content or function of PAS for students of color with few exceptions (Chao, 2001; Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000; Neblett, Chavous, Nguyên, & Sellers, 2009; Neblett et al., 2008; Ross, 2013; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2007; Suizzo et al., 2012).

A number of scholars advocate study designs focused on phenomena within racial/ethnic groups (Brody & Flor, 1998; Gutman & McLoyd, 2000; V. C. McLoyd & Randolph, 1984; Wong & Rowley, 2001) as a means to identifying complex processes that may be generally associated with the functioning of children rather than comparison studies that only explore between group differences. For example, a large body of research exists delineating the ways in which Black and Latino students underachieve relative to White students. Yet, work that examines student achievement among Black or Latino students highlights a variety of contextual

and individual predictors of Black and Latino student achievement that would go undetected or understudied because comparisons were made outside of their own racial/ethnic groups (Neblett et al., 2008; Wong & Rowley, 2001; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). With regard to PAS messages, within group analyses (beyond mean differences) can begin to ascertain the ways in which PAS messages may operate differently for Black parent-child dyads. The present research will examine within group PAS in Black parent-adolescent dyads in an effort to better understand links between parenting behaviors and academic outcomes in Black students.

PAS & Black Parents

The socialization efforts of parents of Black children are likely to reflect their "active efforts to equip their children with the beliefs, values, and resources needed for success" (N. E. Hill, 2001, p. 505) in a society in which racial/ethnic challenges exist (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000; Neblett et al., 2008; 2009; Suizzo et al., 2007). Moreover, PAS messages are parents' efforts to bolster their child's academic performance through communication and guidance (Bempechat et al, 1999; Hill & Tyson, 2009).

There is very little research capturing PAS in Black parents. The work that does capture Black parents' PAS includes parents' educational attainment expectations, involvement, and general parenting behaviors. This work suggests that Black parents: 1) hold high expectations of their children compared to White and Latino parents (Suizzo et al., 2012a), 2) engage in PAS behaviors either at rates similar to (Bempechat et al., 1999; Suizzo & Soon, 2008) or greater than White and Latino parents (Sui-Chu & Willms, 1996), and 3) engage in no-nonsense parenting, a combination of high control and affection that has been positively linked to adaptive child academic outcomes (Brody & Flor, 1998; S. A. Hill, 1999). I will discuss each point briefly.

Many Black parents hold high expectations for their children (McCallum, 2015; Tamis-

LeMonda, Briggs, McClowry, & Snow, 2008). Comparatively, Black parents hold higher educational attainment aspirations for their children than White (Fan, 2001; N. E. Hill & Craft, 2003; Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007; Vaden-Kiernan & McManus, 2005) and Latino parents (Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007). In a comparison of Black and White parents, Black parents were more likely than White parents to rank attending college as very important (S. A. Hill, 1999; Jeynes, 2003). Likewise, Black parents more often than White parents endorsed getting a good education and a good job as their primary goals for their child (S. A. Hill 1999). Moreover, recent research suggests that Black parents viewed achieving a four-year college degree as a bare minimum for their child (McCallum, 2015; Suizzo et al., 2012a). Generally, the narratives of Black parents suggest that they want their children to go further in their education than they themselves have (Suizzo et al., 2012a). Such high expectations coupled with observed authoritarian-like parenting styles in Black parents (N. E. Hill & Taylor, 2004; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008) can translate to pressure for Black students.

Racial/ethnic comparison work including Black parents suggests that Black parents engage in PAS in similar ways to parents of other racial-ethnic groups. Black parents' school and home involvement are similar to that of other racial/ethnic groups (N. E. Hill & Craft, 2003; Reynolds, 2010; Suizzo et al., 2014; 2008; Vaden-Kiernan & McManus, 2005). However, there is also research to suggest that Black parents are more involved than White parents (e.g., exhibit more home involvement; Sui-Chu & Willms, 1996; (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Jeynes, 2003). The effect of Black parents' involvement on the academic functioning of their adolescents does not tend to differ from that of the effect of White parents' involvement on their children's outcomes (N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009). Although one study found the relation between parental involvement and achievement to be stronger for Black students (N. E. Hill & Taylor, 2004;

Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006). Empirical studies including Black PAS suggest that low-income Black parents communicate PAS effort messages with similar frequency to low-income White parents (Bempechat et al., 1999) and similar rates of emotional support and involvement to those of White and Latino parents (Suizzo & Soon, 2006). Despite the similarities in the rates of Black parents' PAS in comparison to other racial groups, Black parents' PAS goals/motives are culturally distinct (Brody & Flor, 1998; Reynolds, 2010; Suizzo et al., 2014; 2008) warranting further attention to the function and impact PAS among Black families apart from comparisons to other groups.

The distinction of Black parents' PAS goals/motives is characterized by their desire to prepare their children to navigate a racialized world in which they will experience bias/discrimination (Suizzo et al., 2007; Williams, Banerjee, Lozada, Lambouths, & Rowley, under review) in addition to instilling self-determination (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Kaba, 2005; Wood, Kaplan, & McLoyd, 2007) and self-worth (Neblett et al., 2006)in their children. As such, Black parents' academic socialization strategies likely incorporate aspects of "no-nonsense" parenting, a combination of high control and affection that is believed to be characteristic of Black parenting and a reflection of Black parents' desires to both prepare and motivate their children (Boyd-Franklin & Franklin, 2000; Brody & Flor, 1998; Wood & Graham, 2010). Qualitative research suggests that some Black parents place academic pressure on their children to defy racial stereotypes of misconduct and underperformance in Black students (Reynolds, 2010). Black parents' cultural models of academic socialization demonstrate an acknowledgement of the benefits of education (i.e., social mobility and knowledge acquisition), the existence of barriers to educational attainment for their children, and a determination to support their child's academic development despite any barriers to success (Suizzo et al., 2012a).

The narratives of Black parents of preschool children suggest that Black parents are concerned about their children experiencing racial bias within the context of schooling or education and seek to protect them from and prepare them for such instances (Suizzo et al., 2008). The nature of Black parents' race-related concerns for their children's educational experiences may relate to the ways they engage in differential academic socialization among their male and female children and the subsequent gender differences that have been noted in research on Black student achievement. I briefly discuss the differential socialization of boys and girls in Black families below.

Differential Socialization in Black Families

In recent years, pronounced gaps in achievement and educational attainment between African American girls and boys have been illuminated (Kaba, 2005; Mandara & Murray, 2007; Mandara, Varner, & Richman, 2010; Rouland, Rowley, & Kurtz-Costes, 2013; Wood et al., 2007; Wood & Graham, 2010). There is some speculation that parent socialization may explain some aspects of these gender gaps (S. A. Hill, 2002; Mandara et al. 2010, 2012; Wood et al.). Some empirical work has found evidence of differential socialization and supports the contention that variation in the socialization of Black boys and girls may account for variation in academic achievement between Black males and females (Mandara et al., 2010). However, few studies have examined the ways in which PAS messages may be differentially transmitted to boys and girls and/or the ways in which the relationship between PAS messages and academic outcomes may vary by gender (Mandara et al., 2010; Mandara, Murray, & Joyner, 2005; Mandara, Murray, Telesford, Varner, & Richman, 2012; Neal, McCray, Webb-Johnson, & Bridgest, 2003; Rogers et al., 2009; D. E. Thomas & Stevenson, 2009). Thus, below I review literature on differential socialization of Black boys and girls more broadly in relation to academic outcomes.

Parenting literature suggests that Black boys and girls receive different socializing messages from mothers and fathers and that those messages are linked to differential outcomes in children (Mandara et al., 2005). This work highlights the ways in which African American mothers guide their daughters towards success and self-sufficiency and the lesser degree to which these high expectations are placed upon sons (Mandara et al., 2010). In addition to the discrepancy in the demands and expectations parents place on their gender-matched child, parents of Black children anticipate different academic challenges for their boys and girls. Parents of African American boys perceive more gender- and race-related barriers for their sons than their daughters (Boyd-Franklin & Franklin, 2000; S. A. Hill, 2001b; Taylor, Clayton, & Rowley, 2004; Wood & Graham, 2010) and socialize their children accordingly (S.A. Hill, 2002). Parents of African American children have higher academic expectations for girls (Wood et al.,2007), view girls as more academically competent relative to parents of boys (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Mandara et al., 2010; Mandara & Murray, 2007; Rouland et al., 2013; Wood et al., 2007; Wood & Graham, 2010) and are more likely to view girls' success as a testament to girls' ability (Rouland et al., 2013). All of these parental academic perceptions of girls are positively linked to academic achievement (Natale et al., 2009). However, parents anticipate and understand that the academic challenges boys experience are distinct in some ways from those of girls and are a factor in the choices of those parenting African American boys.

Stereotypes of wrongdoing by African American boys and their impact on their educational outcomes have been demonstrated in recent studies (Smith & Hung, 2008). For example, teachers perceive African American males' walking styles and vernacular as indicators of aggression, academic underachievement, and a prompt for special education (Mandara et al.,

2005; 2010; 2012; Neal et al., 2003; Rogers et al., 2009; D. E. Thomas & Stevenson, 2009). Parents of African American boys note these unique challenges and provide socializing messages and experiences in hopes of preparing them to overcome or manage these obstacles (Boyd-Franklin & Franklin, 2000; S. A. Hill, 2001b; Taylor et al., 2004; A. J. Thomas & Speight, 1999). Parents directing socialization messages to Black boys emphasize the importance of their sons' good behavior in predominantly White contexts, and seek to prepare them for confrontations associated with racial profiling or prejudice so that they may "fit in"(Coard et al., 2004). These messages include a variety of ways in which school personnel may prejudge their behavior to be "defiant" (Reynolds, 2010) or maligned in some way. Parents of Black boys also inform them of stereotypes they will face and urge them to resist confirming any of these Black male stereotypes (Reynolds). Parents of Black boys also make efforts to manage their emotions around the discrimination they may experience as illustrated by a quote of a six year-old Black boy interviewed about their race socialization practices said that she tells him: "… you are going to be singled out, so don't feel so bad" (Coard et al., 2004). Taken together this work suggests that parents of Black children offer socialization messages specific to the child's gender.

As mentioned previously, few studies have examined gender differences as they relate to multiple PAS messages or how child gender may moderate PAS messages and academic outcomes relations (Hughes et al., 2008; Mandara et al., 2005; 2010; 2012; Rogers et al., 2009). However, Ross (2013) found that caregivers of Black boys provided more effort and pressure/shame messages than parents of Black girls and that caregivers of Black girls provided more balance messages than caregivers of Black boys. Further, this study found that a negative relationship between PAS pressure messages and academic persistence, and between PAS balance messages and academic persistence emerged for girls but not boys. This findings

suggests that Black girls may have a sensitivity to balance and pressure messages. This research offers further evidence that differential socialization is present within PAS and suggests that certain PAS messages may operate differently for boys and girls academic outcomes. The current study will expand the Ross (2013) analysis by exploring additional gender mean differences of PAS and the potential moderating role of gender in relations between PAS and child outcomes among Black families.

Introduction Summary

PAS messages are nuanced. Though research has shown that children have better academic outcomes when parents talk with them about school, other research suggests that some PAS may be associated with lower academic performance. Certain parent socialization behaviors can be adaptive and promote achievement and positive psychosocial functioning in adolescents, like balance and effort messages. However, other PAS messages are associated with diminished motivation and engagement (i.e., pressure and shame). These findings support the multidimensional nature of PAS. The current empirical work will account for multiple PAS messages and their individual connections to the academic engagement, motivation, and performance of Black adolescents. Moreover, this work will account for the ways in which these relations may differ for male and female students.

In addition to conceptualizing and operationalizing PAS as a multidimensional construct, the current research will include both parent and adolescent reports of PAS within parent-adolescent dyads. Though little concordance between parent and adolescent reports of PAS and parenting has been observed, parent and adolescent PAS perspectives each have unique predictive validity of child outcomes and taken together can provide a more accurate depiction of the PAS experience. The current research seeks to overcome challenges of method bias by

including both parent and adolescent reports of PAS and using both adolescent/student and teacher reported outcomes.

Finally, much of the previous work on PAS has investigated this construct in predominately White samples or in the context of racial/ethnic comparative frameworks. However, compared to other racial/ethnic groups, Black parents hold high educational attainment expectations for their children. In combination with Black parents' expectations for their children to resist racial stereotypes and concern for their children's race-related experiences in relation to academic achievement, Black parents' high expectations and authoritarian parenting styles may position them to engage in unique combinations of PAS that may be overlooked in comparative work. Thus the current research will examine the nature and function of PAS among Black parents and their adolescents to better understand the variation of these PAS experiences and their relation to academic outcomes among a Black sample.

The Present Research Study

Research Questions

This study seeks to address the following questions:

1. Do parent and adolescent repots of PAS yield patterns of concordance and discordance in reporting?
2. How do patterns of PAS concordance/discordance predict adolescents' well-being, academic engagement, motivation, and performance?
3. How do both parent and adolescent reports of PAS messages contribute to the academic engagement and performance of adolescents?
4. Is the relation between parent-reported PAS and adolescent academic engagement and performance mediated by adolescent-reported PAS?

5. Are there gender mean differences in the PAS messages of Black girls and boys? Do the relations between parent- and adolescent-reported PAS and academic engagement and performance differ for Black girls and boys?

Hypotheses

This work has five aims: 1) to examine the degree to which parents and adolescents agree in their reporting of PAS messages pressure, effort, balance, and shame (PAS concordance), 2) to examine the ways in which this concordance/discordance in PAS messages may be linked to adolescent outcomes (concordance as a predictor), 3) to assess the impact of both parent- and adolescent-reported PAS messages on adolescent outcomes (PAS predicting adolescent outcomes), 4) to test theory suggesting parents' PAS has a direct and indirect influence on adolescent outcomes via adolescent perceptions of PAS (indirect effect of parent PAS), and 5) to explore if/how these relations differ for male and female adolescents (differential socialization). Aim 1 was addressed via latent profile analysis. Aim 2 used MANCOVA to examine concordance relations with academic outcomes. Aims 3 and 4 were addressed via structural equation mediation models of each PAS message. Aim 5 extended the structural models used to address aims 3 and 4 as multi-group models to test student gender as a moderator of the direct and indirect influences of PAS. Below I offer hypotheses for each of these aims.

PAS Concordance. There is little research to inform hypotheses on the concordance that may exist between parent and adolescent reports of the frequency of socialization events. However, research examining similarities between parent and adolescent reports of parenting behaviors may offer some insight. Generally, research suggests that little concordance exist between parent-reported and child-reported parenting (Achenbach et al., 1987; Feinberg et al., 2000). However, as previously stated this work has utilized absolute concordance methods; much

of this work has been conducted using Pearson's correlations or difference scores where concordance is operationalized as strict response agreement between reporters. The present research relies on relative agreement methods, I will utilize a latent profile analysis (LPA) to examine concordance, where one would expect to find moderate agreement varying by mean level reporting between parent and adolescent reports of PAS.

I expect to find two concordance profiles, those that agree that the PAS message occurs at a high rate and those that agree it occurs at a low rate (above and below the mean respectively). It is possible that I would find three profiles of agreement where both parents and adolescents agree in low, moderate/average, or high frequency of PAS messages. In thinking about the disagreement profiles that may emerge, there are several possibilities. I expected that the LPA would identify profiles in which parents report more PAS than adolescents and that where adolescents report more PAS than parents. It is possible to unearth profiles of low to moderate disagreement and more severe disagreement.

It is possible that parent-adolescent concordance may exist between certain PAS messages and not others. However, there is no research to suggest whether concordance is more likely to be evidenced in one PAS message in comparison to others. The current study will examine pressure, effort, balance, and shame PAS messages. Given that there is no previous research to guide hypotheses on concordance patterns by PAS messages, these analyses are exploratory with the goal of describing the patterns of PAS concordance found in the current sample.

Concordance as A Predictor of Adolescent Outcomes. Though research has generally found concordance to be beneficial for child adjustment (Achenbach et al., 1986), recent research has demonstrated that mild discordance can be beneficial for the psychosocial adjustment and

academic achievement of adolescents (Feinberg et al., 2000; Wang & Benner, 2013). This research suggests construct valance and degree and direction of discrepancies are factors in determining the ways in which concordance may influence adolescent outcomes. For example, Feinberg and colleagues found parent-child discrepancies of punitiveness and disagreement were negatively associated with maladjustment and discrepancies of closeness were positively associated with maladjustment. The researchers did not probe the direction in which discrepancies were prevalent (e.g., whether child or parent-reported more), and thus it could be that large discrepancies in which one parent-child dyad member reports more or less of the parenting behavior would determine if discordance is associated with adaptive child outcomes. Therefore, in the present work I expected that some discordant PAS messages would be positively associated with adolescent outcomes.

Parent and Adolescent PAS Predicting Adolescent Outcomes. In my examination of the relations between both parent- and adolescent-reported PAS and adolescent academic outcomes I anticipated that effort and balance will be positively related to academic outcomes (i.e., persistence, GPA, and preparation). Pressure and shame would be negatively related to the academic outcomes. Additionally, I expected that the magnitude of relations would be different for adolescent- and parent-reports such that adolescent reports would be more strongly related to adolescent-reported and teacher-reported outcomes than parent reports. Existing research does not offer enough information to suggest how the directions of PAS relations may differ by parent or adolescent report.

Indirect Effects of Parent PAS. I expected that parents' PAS reports will predict adolescent PAS reports and that adolescent PAS reports will predict adolescents' academic and psychosocial outcomes. Using the approach suggested by A. F. Hayes (2009), there is no

requisite relation between parent PAS (X) and outcomes (Y) to observe indirect effects. However, as stated previously and in accordance with theory (Eccles & Harold, 1993), there is an assumption of a direct effect of parents' socialization on adolescent outcomes.

Differential Socialization. I expected that there would be mean differences in PAS messages for male and female adolescents. If these differences were demonstrated in the current study, I expected that variation in the frequency of PAS messages for males and females would account for variation in adolescent outcomes.

Covariates. Parent education, child gender, and child age/grade has been associated with PAS (Ross, 2013). Parents with more education, female adolescents, and older students tend to report more PAS messages of effort, balance, and pressure respectively. Thus, I included parents' highest level of education, child gender, and child grade as controls in the present study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Grounding and Background Literature

In the present chapter I briefly discuss the theoretical underpinnings of my work and the ways in which existing theories of parental involvement have shaped the current study. I apply these theories of parental involvement to my conceptualization of PAS as a set of parenting behaviors that influence child academic outcomes. I also expand on the conceptualization of PAS and further define the dimensions of PAS under investigation in the current study and their relations with child outcomes. I then offer an overview of research in which parents and children are both informants of parenting and socialization. I end with revisiting the aims and hypotheses of the present study.

A Pathway between Parent Socialization & Child Outcomes

The current study conceptualizes PAS as an aspect of parenting that influences child academic development. As such, I describe three theoretical frameworks that guide my investigation of PAS as both a direct and indirect influence on child academic outcomes: the Model of Parental Influences, Expectancy Value Theory, and the revised Parental Involvement Process model. Eccles and colleagues presented one of the earlier conceptual models delineating processes by which parents have an impact on the academic development of their children (Eccles-Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982). The Model of Parental Influences (MPI; see Appendix A) situates parents' general beliefs and their child-specific beliefs as antecedents to parenting practices, where parenting practices have a direct influence on child outcomes of self-

perceptions, motivation, engagement, and performance. Additionally, contextual effects of parent, child, family, and neighborhood characteristics are accounted for in this theoretical model. Not only does this model offer an explanation of the parental behaviors that have an effect on the academic outcomes of adolescents, it suggests that these effects are unfolding "in context". Eccles' MPI makes one thing clear—the things parents do have an impact on child outcomes. However, Eccles' expectancy-value theory (EVT; Eccles & Harold, 1993); see Appendix A) best explains the process by which parenting behaviors translate to child outcomes. The EVT explains that child perceptions of the beliefs and behaviors of socializers are connected to their goals and self-schemas that then relate to their motivation and achievement. This model includes both parent and child behaviors and attitudes that contribute to the child's development and it accounts for various contextual effects on parenting and those that influence school and community environment and the child directly. This model is inclusive of process and outcomes and accounts for previous experiences and performance as they related to future performance (i.e., the MPI and ETV models are recursive). Eccles' models are thus ideal theoretical grounding for examining connections between parent and child perspectives of PAS and child outcomes.

Combined, the Eccles' MPI and EVT models suggest that parents' beliefs and behaviors have an influence on child outcomes and children's perceptions of these beliefs and behaviors have an effect on child academic and psychosocial outcomes. These theories suggests that children's academic development is affected by both the things parents do and the things children believe parents do. However, other models explaining the process by which parents socialize achievement or influence the academic development of their children suggest that children's perceptions of parenting is the mechanism by which parents influence child outcomes (Demo,

Small, & Savin-Williams, 1987). For example, the Parental Involvement Process Model (PIP; (Hoover-Dempsey & Sander, 1995) assumes no direct relationship between parents' involvement behaviors and children's motivation, engagement, or achievement. Instead, the PIP model delineates levels of parenting variables that mediate relations between parental involvement behaviors and child outcomes.

In the earliest iteration of Hoover-Dempsey's (1995) PIP model the child is absent from the process by which parent involvement influences child academic outcomes (see Appendix A). Parents are the actors in this model and enact in four levels of decisions and behaviors that impact child academic outcomes (the fifth level of the model). This model presumed that parent involvement influenced the academic outcomes of children through parents' selection of specific involvement behaviors. As it was, the model offered little understanding that students must perceive parent behaviors to have an influence on student motivation and thus achievement. However, the intent of this model was to "explain why parents get involved and how their involvement improves student outcomes" (Walker, Wilkins, Dallaire, Sandler, & Hoover Dempsey, 2005), p 85) thus, understanding the role of the child in this process was not the goal of this original model.

In 2005, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's PIP model was revised via the work of Walker and colleagues (2005; including Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler). The revised PIP (Walker, Shenker, & Hoover Dempsey, 2010), see Appendix A) added an intermediate level to the original five-level process model to include varied forms of parental involvement and moved levels around to incorporate children's perceptions of parents' specific involvement behaviors. The revised model now accounts for multiple ways in which parents may be involved, thus, making it inclusive of academic socialization behaviors like communicating academic values and

offering encouragement. The revised PIP model also includes adolescent perceptions of parents' involvement behaviors. However, the model no longer presumes a direct connection between parents' involvement and adolescent academic achievement. Walker and colleagues (2010) state specifically that the decision to include student perspectives of parent involvement was grounded in constructivist and social learning theories that situate children as the "active architects of their own development…via students' perceptions of their parents' actions" (p. 29).

The revised PIP model asserts that parents' involvement behaviors have an impact on student motivation through child perceptions of such behaviors. This is similar to Eccles' model; however, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's lack of direct relation between parents' involvement behaviors and academic functioning is the aspect of this theory that I question. Do parent behaviors only have an impact on adolescent outcomes when children have understood and processed such behaviors? Is it mainly the children's perceptions of parents' beliefs and behaviors that matter in the relationship between parent academic socialization and child academic engagement and motivation? *Or* do parents' beliefs and behaviors also have a direct effect on child academic engagement, motivation, and performance?

Eccle's MPI and EVT models both suggest an indirect pathway to adolescent outcomes (e.g., self-schema, self-concept, values, goals), but only the MPI suggests a direct pathway to achievement. Eccles EVT suggests a direct pathway to academic self-schema, but not achievement. I suggest that the perceptions of parent socialization behaviors of both adolescents and parents have a direct effect on academic outcomes, including academic self-schema and performance. I also agree with Eccles and Hoover-Dempsey that adolescent parent involvement perceptions are likely the mechanism through which parents' messages have an impact on achievement and motivation.

The EVT, MPI, and revised PIP models all delineate processes by which parents have an influence on the academic development of their children. Only in Eccles' theoretical framing (i.e., the MPI and EVT), however, is the parent-child interaction modeled with both a direct influence upon child academic outcomes and an indirect influence via child perceptions of parents' socialization goals and behaviors. While these theoretical frames have shaped the current study in offering a framework for PAS and its relation to the academic outcomes of adolescents, I rely on Eccles' EVT modeling both the direct and indirect (via adolescent perception) influence of PAS on adolescent academic outcomes for my analytic model.

Models of parent school involvement also contribute to my conceptualization of the path from PAS to child outcomes and the role of adolescent perception. Models of early childhood development and parental school involvement make no claims about the child's perceptions of parent's school involvement behaviors (Fantuzzo et al., 2000; McWayne et al., 2004). These models focus primarily on parents' interactions with schooling agents, like teachers, the home learning environment parents maintain, and parents' learning goals for their children (Davis-Kean, 2005). This makes sense for academic processes for young children, but less so for adolescents. During early childhood and in the first few years of schooling, parents maintain significant responsibility for the academic performance and tasks of their young children. As children develop, they gain more autonomy and responsibility for their academic tasks and performance. This simultaneously occurs with a decrease in parents' school involvement behaviors (Stevenson & Baker, 1987; Prescott, Pelton, & Dornbusch, 1986). As parents reduce their school involvement behaviors, their behavior shifts primarily to home involvement and academic socialization (i.e., verbal messages and interactions with the child about school; N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009). In this case, an adolescent's perception of her or his parents' involvement

behaviors would logically be the mechanism by which parents' involvement influences the academic development and performance of adolescents. However, empirical research has not tested this theory.

When parents are more involved in the academic development of their children, children tend to have better academic outcomes. There is a long-established literature that supports this assertion. Findings show that parents who spend more time in children's school buildings interfacing with teachers, supporting homework and learning in the home have children that fare better academically (N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009). However, other scholarship that finds negative relations between homework help and interfacing with schoolteachers and achievement for some students (Pomerantz et al., 2007) complicates this finding. Research addressing this empirical gap found that beyond the quantity of parent involvement behaviors, the content and tone of parent-child involvement interactions (e.g., parent affect and attitude) and the academic socialization messages communicated have an impact on the motivation, engagement, and performance of students (Pomerantz et al., 2005; Pomerantz, Ng, & Wang, 2006). This work suggests that the nature of parents' school involvement and the content of parent-child interactions surrounding the child's academic development and performance are key factors in our understanding of the ways in which parent's academic involvement influences child academic engagement, motivation, and performance.

In addition to parent school involvement research elucidating the impact that parents have on the academic and psychosocial development of children, there are several theoretical and empirical works that link socialization (e.g., broad "parenting," and specific parenting practices) and family characteristics to children's achievement and motivation (Bugental & Grusec, 2006; Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000;

Glasgow et al, 1997; Grolnick & Ryan 1989; Grusec, 2011; Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Maccoby, 1982; Maccoby & Martin, 1993; Midgett et al. 2002; Parsons, Adler, & Kaczala, 1982; Paulson, 1994; Ryan & Adams 1995; Schaefer, 1965; Simpkins, Davis-Kean, & Eccles, 2005; Steinberg et al. 1992; Taylor, Clayton, & Rowley, 2004; Taylor, Hinton, & Wilson, 1995). This scholarship centers on multiple dimensions of parenting style and academic and general socialization practices as they relate to children's development of self-schema, motivation, and academic interests and performance. Overall, this literature suggests that parents are the first and most important socializers of children (Collins et al., 2000) and parents' responsiveness to children's needs and high maturity demands are associated with adaptive child outcomes (Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Spera, 2005; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992).

This collection of work suggests that a variety of parenting behaviors are associated with the academic functioning of children. However, parents' school/education-specific behaviors (e.g., parent home involvement and academic socialization) show the most promise in demonstrating the ways in which parents support their adolescent's educational success. The current research seeks to add to this body of literature by further probing the ways in which parent socialization tailored to the academic domain is linked to children's academic motivation and performance.

Parental Academic Socialization

Research has found that children of parents who talk with them frequently about their school and learning experiences have greater motivation, engagement, and achievement outcomes (Finn, 1993). However, there is little research that captures the content of these conversations. For example, the literature supports relations between parent expectations for their child's educational attainment and the child's own expectations and performance (Chao,

2001; Holodynski & Kronast, 2009; D. S. Kaplan, Liu, & Kaplan, 2001; Kirk, Lewis Moss, Nilsen, & Colvin, 2011; Seginer & Vermulst, 2002; Wood, Kurtz-Costes, Rowley, & Okeke-Adeyanju, 2010), but without attention to the messages parents use to convey these expectations or the child's perception and interpretation of these messages. When research does examine the content of PAS messages, rather than whether parents speak with their children about academics, both positive and negative relations with academic functioning are observed (Bempechat et al., 1999; Rogers et al., 2009; Suizzo & Soon, 2006; Suizzo et al., 2012). The following discusses four content specific PAS messages and their association to the academic motivation, engagement, and performance of adolescents: effort, balance, pressure, and shame.

Formative to my construction of PAS messages of effort and shame is the work of Bempechat (1992) and colleagues (1999). This work defines PAS as parental influences on achievement attitudes and motivation necessary for academic success and operationalizes PAS as messages transmitted from parent to child (Bempechat, 1992). To delineate these parental messages and practices, Bempechat (1992) and colleagues (1999), used the Education Socialization Scale (ESS; Modrkowitz & Ginsburg, 1986), created from interviews with Asian-American Harvard undergraduates about the parenting practices they believed attributed to their academic success. The ESS captures the direct help that parents provided with schoolwork, parents' value of education, parental messages about the importance of education for one's future, the need for strong academic effort to achieve success, and shame for poor academic performance, and students' feelings of guilt for parental sacrifice towards their education. This early work set the foundation for my research to capture the varied messages parents communicate to children about education and learning and the ways in which those messages are

linked to child academic self-schema, motivation, engagement, and performance. A modified version of the ESS is used in the present work.

Effort

In the present study, effort messages are those that communicate a link between hard work and success, instill the idea that giving one's best effort is important, and articulate a connection between lack of effort and underachievement. Effort socialization may also reflect communications of the societal or personal value of being effortful and hard-working (Bempechat, 1992; Bempechat et al., 1999; Gniewosz & Noack, 2011; López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Mickelson, 1990; Mordkowitz & Ginsburg, 1986; Paulson, 1994; Ross, 2013; Suizzo et al., 2012).

Bempechat (1992) and colleagues (1999) have examined child reports of parents' messages of the importance of strong effort and hard work and their relationship to child academic performance attributions and standardized test scores using the Educational Socialization Scale (ESS). They posited that parents' effort messages are somehow internalized by the child and create a desire within the child to put forth his or her best academic effort. Other scholars have utilized similar (Ross, 2013; Suizzo et al, 2012b) or identical (Bernardo, 2009) conceptualizations and measures of effort socialization.

Within the literature, effort socialization is linked to child academic motivation and performance in inconsistent ways. Early qualitative PAS research found that Asian-American college students' academic success was, in part, attributed to their parents' verbal assertion that they had the ability to meet "high expectancies [with] the socialization of effortful persistence" (Mordkowitz & Ginsberg, 1986, p. 87). Parental communications "explain[ing] that effort is the key to success" relates positively to Latino/a sixth graders' GPA and determination to "work on

difficult tasks despite their frustrations" (Suizzo et al., 2012b, p. 538). Additionally, in my previous work testing relations between effort socialization and classroom engagement, I found that items linking strong effort and/or hard work to academic success were positively related to Black middle school students' engagement with new classroom material (Ross, 2013). However, other research has evidenced negative relationships between effort socialization and academic outcomes (Bernardo, 2009) or positive relationships of small magnitude (Bempechat et al., 1999). For example, effort socialization relates negatively to standardized test scores in upper-SES Filipino college students (Bernardo, 2009) and low-income "Indo-Chinese" middle school students (Bempechat et al., 1999).

Some of the inconsistencies in the relation of effort socialization to academic outcomes may reflect differences in the outcome being assessed across studies. Using the ESS, Bempechat and colleagues (1999) found no effects of effort on math achievement in White, Black, and Latino fifth and sixth graders. However, research using the same effort measure found positive relations with engagement with new classroom material (but not academic persistence) in Black middle school students (Ross, 2013). Research utilizing a different effort socialization measure to assess parents' messages "about the importance of hard work" also found positive relations with academic determination for Latino middle school students (Suizzo et al. 2012, p.538). Also using the ESS, negative relations between effort socialization and a math, science, and English standardized test scores were observed in Filipino college students of upper socioeconomic status (SES), but not in middle SES Filipino college students (Bernardo, 2009) using the same effort socialization items. Positive effects of effort socialization (i.e., values toward achievement) were also noted in White adolescents' self- and parent-reported GPA (Paulson, 1994). These finding suggest that effort socialization may be positively related only to certain academic outcomes, like

motivation or academic self-schema and not standardized test scores. Moreover, variation may be reflective of ethnic and SES differences across samples.

This evidence suggests that effort socialization operates in nuanced ways and draws attention to a variety of contradictory findings (i.e., null, positive and negative associations between effort socialization and child academic outcomes). One can speculate that this is due to possible group differences in effort socialization, differences in effort socialization's relation to particular academic outcomes (e.g., positive associations with motivation and engagement vs. negative links to standardized testing), or contrasts with the conceptualization and operationalization of effort socialization. However, there is so little research investigating this phenomenon that it is difficult to hone in on the potential source of these conflicting findings. It is clear that more research is needed using a consistent definition and operationalization of effort socialization; different conceptualizations may relate differently to outcomes. Research does suggest that messages of effort are consistently linked to motivational outcomes such as locus of control (Suizzo & Soon, 2006), attributions (Bempechat et al., 1999), persistence (Ross, 2013), and determination (Suizzo et al., 2012). The research proposed herein will construct effort socialization as both an emphasis on hard work as a means of achieving success and communications attributing failure to a lack of effort. Operationalizing effort socialization in this way is expected to yield positive relationships with adolescent's persistence and adolescent perceptions of preparation for academic tasks, but not with GPA or student competence.

Balance

Within the present study balance is defined as messages that demonstrate parents' desire for their children to strive for academic success while maintaining a positive sense of self. Although some parents may have high expectations for their child's academic performance,

many parents also want their child to be happy, healthy, fully-functioning individuals. Many parents may hold both achievement and psychosocial well-being as goals for their children. There are few studies that explicitly address parent-child communications of the importance of this type of balance between academic performance and happiness or well-roundedness. Though this kind of work may be absent from the body of literature investigating parental influence on child academic development, empirical work has examined parents' desire to raise children who are both academically successful and well-adjusted (e.g., happy, positive sense of self) individuals (S. A. Hill, 1999).

A study examining parenting priorities asked parents to rank the most important of three parenting values (S. A. Hill, 1999). The three values parents were asked to rank were 1) happiness and self-esteem, 2) respect and obedience, and 3) having the child do well in school. A majority of parents (58.7%) listed their child's happiness and self-esteem as their top parenting priority, and only 26.1% listed doing well in school as their top priority. However, Black parents with more education were more likely than their White counterparts to rank doing well in school as a top parenting value, suggesting that Black parents higher in education are more likely to prioritize the education of their children in comparison to White parents. The author attributes White parents' low prioritization of doing well in school in comparison to Black parents as an artifact of having to choose only one of three very important parenting goals. However, Black parents were more likely than White parents to prioritize doing well in school. S. A. Hill notes that many parents were reluctant to choose a single priority, stating that they are all important. Furthermore, she offers the following: "some [parents] explain their choices in the margins of the survey by saying that children who are happy and have good self-esteem will naturally do well in

school" (S. A. Hill, 1999, p. 56). These findings offer further evidence that some parents place the well-being of their child in conversation with their academic efforts.

Parents generally want the best for their children; we want our children to be successful and happy. However, academic stress is a challenge adolescents face (de Anda, Baroni, Boskin, & Buchwald, 2000). In response to or in seeking to prevent academic stress, parents may offer balance messages that emphasize that academic achievement, while highly valued, is equally as important as the child's happiness (Ross, 2013). Messages promoting well-being and a positive sense of self may be communicated to children to complement strong academic performance or to improve the self-esteem of a child struggling academically. Some parents prioritize their child's academic performance over the child's happiness (S. A. Hill & Sprague, 1999). Still, other parents may stress the importance of "work[ing] hard" or instilling in their children expectations of strong academic effort, while also "de-emphasi[zing] academics and…[emphasizing] the importance of social development," (Chao, 1996, p.410). Though these parenting behaviors seem similar where achievement priorities are placed in direct competition with the child's positive sense of self, there are subtle, yet relevant differences. On the one hand there are parents who place school performance over the positive affect of the child. On the other hand there are those who hold high academic expectations and express concern for the well-being of the child within the academic domain. It is the latter message under investigation in the current research.

Balance messages can have negative effects on children's academic motivation. For example, Ross (2013) found a negative association between parents' messages of balance and children's engagement with new classroom material and re-engagement with class material after failure. Two interpretations of this result seem plausible. One possibility is that balance messages

may be suggestive of lower expectations from parents, leading to lowered motivation. A second possibility is that parents may use more balance messages to lessen the negative effects of poor performance on the psychological outcomes for struggling students. More research is needed to determine the ways in which balance may be associated with child academic motivation, engagement, and performance.

Pressure

Parental academic pressure can take a variety of forms and differ in intensity and tone as parents make efforts to influence their child's behavior through verbal persuasion. The strategy to influence through coaxing is prominent in the parent socialization literature (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Spera, 2005). For the purposes of the present research, parental pressure is defined as parents' messages pushing children towards reaching or exceeding parental academic standards and expectations. These communications can take the forms of persuasion, force through verbal (but not physical) threats, or non-physical punishment. Parent academic pressure can also be distinguished as maladaptive (e.g., expectations, actions, and responses that may demoralize children's academic abilities) or adaptive (e.g., expectations, actions, and responses that facilitate children's academic abilities).

Maladaptive pressure, in the forms of unattainably high or unreasonable standards as described by sports psychology literature (Sagar, Boardley, & Kavussanu, 2010) and adverse responses to academic underperformance (e.g., punishment, withdrawal of positive parental communication or warmth, or negative parental statements or affect) can have a deleterious effect on child academic development and psychosocial outcomes (Chao, 2000; 2001; Dailey, 2008; 2009; Gaylord-Harden, Ragsdale, Mandara, Richards, & Petersen, 2006; Mandara, 2006; Mandara et al., 2010; Mandara & Pikes, 2008; Seginer & Vermulst, 2002; Varner & Mandara,

2009). Acts of this nature can demoralize children and discourage them from performing to the best of their abilities (Bempechat, 1992; Mandara et al., 2012). Moreover, in greater frequency and intensity, it is likely that this form of academic pressure may bring about psychosocial distress in the child that can exacerbate underachievement (Mandara et al., 2012; Mordkowitz & Ginsburg, 1986).

There is evidence that parents' maladaptive pressure messages relate negatively to academic and psychosocial outcomes. For instance, maladaptive pressure messages are negatively linked to child academic competence, math and reading self-concept, and GPA through academic competence in Canadian middle school boys and girls (Rogers et al., 2009). In addition to parents' verbal messages pressuring children to perform to high academic standards, punishment or the threat of punishment, perhaps an extreme form of maladaptive pressure, is negatively related to child academic and psychosocial outcomes (Garn, Matthews, & Jolly, 2010). These findings suggest that student well-being is compromised by unreasonable expectations and punishment; these deficits in well-being are negatively related to academic outcomes.

However, adaptive pressure socialization can have academic benefits for students (Chao, 2001; Lobel & Bempechat, 1992; Patel & Stevens, 2010). In particular, academic demandingness, training, and challenge seem to have positive effects on child academic development. Though each of these constructs is defined and operationalized in different ways, one common aspect exists: each reflects parents calling their children to (academic) action. Most common in conceptualization are demandingness and training. Demandingness and training have origins in parenting style literature and involve setting standards for a child's performance, including notions of support, control, and monitoring. Training reflects the use of parental

control to instill the importance of hard work, self-discipline, and successful academic performance (Chao, 2001). However, demandingness has been conceptualized in a variety of ways including parental pressure to conform to standards of achievement, the discrepancies or agreement between parent and child expectations (T. Banks, Ninowski, Mash, & Semple, 2007; Lobel & Bempechat, 1992; Seginer & Vermulst, 2002), demands placed upon children to be integrated and productive family and society members (Rochlen, Suizzo, McKelley, & Scaringi, 2008; Seginer & Vermulst, 2002; Spera, 2005; Suizzo, 2007; Suizzo et al., 2007), and parental control and demands of engaging in hard work (Suizzo & Soon, 2006). Demandingness is associated with higher academic achievement (i.e., training; Chao, 2000; 2001).

Parental challenge is defined as "constructive behaviors parents enact that provide opportunities to facilitate development" (Dailey, 2008, 663). Challenge is further described as parents "pushing or testing the child's existing abilities and skills that may result in building or strengthening cognitive, behavior[al], social, or affective knowledge or skills" (Dailey, 2008, 644-5). Overall, this form of parental pressure is largely described by parenting that urges children to perform to their best abilities (within range of their academic abilities), surpass current abilities, engage in critical thinking and reasoning, encourages the pursuit of cognitive stimulation, knowledge seeking behaviors, perspective taking, and the experience of enjoyment in learning and academic tasks without attacking or threatening the child's academic self. Unlike maladaptive pressure, challenge has been linked to positive academic development. Both challenge and training have shown positive relationships with child academic motivation and persistence (Dailey, 2008; Chao 2000).

Training, demandingness, and challenge each have an undertone of gentle prodding of a child towards parents' preset academic standards or goals for their child or optimal academic

development and functioning. Dailey (2008) offers a compelling argument of why this distinction between maladaptive and adaptive forms of pressure may exist. In response to disaggregating parent-child conflict and negative parental behaviors from positive parental challenge items in factor analysis, Dailey (2008) states "Perhaps challenging behaviors that are manipulative or aggressive are qualitatively different than more constructive forms of challenge and belong under domains such as psychological control" (p. 663).

From studies examining either maladaptive or adaptive forms of parental academic pressure (i.e., challenge) we see that relations between pressure and academic functioning are nuanced. Future research investigating parent-child communications persuading particular academic strivings would do well to make this distinction in conceptualization, measurement, and analysis. It is possible that the difference between maladaptive and adaptive pressure is the concordance between or interaction of child ability and parental standards as asserted by some scholars (Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997; Mickelson, 1990; Rowley, 2000; Seginer & Vermulst, 2002). Communications of academic pressure can be received or perceived as a burden when the performance or outcome requested appears unattainable, such as in the case of maladaptive pressure. Thus, unrealistic expectations would manifest as high pressure and compromise one's self-efficacy, motivation, engagement in academic activities Ultimately, maladaptive pressure would have a negative impact on all outcomes influenced by academic engagement. Likewise, if the call to action is within or just beyond one's ability, such as with adaptive pressure messages (i.e., parental challenge) a child can muster the motivation and confidence to rise to the occasion, which would yield a positive relationship.

In some research, Chinese American mothers of primary school children endorsed a training component of parenting style at higher rates in comparison to European American

mothers (Chao, 2000), which some attribute to the popular "Tiger Mother" phenomenon (Barni, Ranieri, Scabini, & Rosnati, 2011; Chao, 2000; 2001; Chua, 2012; Gniewosz & Noack, 2011; 2012; Rochlen et al., 2008; Spera, 2005; Suizzo, 2007; Suizzo et al., 2007). This work postulates a uniquely Chinese style of parenting; most closely resembling an authoritarian style of parenting that is associated with high academic achievement and life success in Chinese-American children (Barni et al., 2011; Chao, 2000; 2001; Chua, 2012; Gniewosz & Noack, 2011; 2012; Kohler, Aldridge, Christensen, & Kilgo, 2012). Likewise, authoritarian parenting, though it is linked to maladjustment among White parenting contexts, is not necessarily negative for the adjustment of Black children (Chua, 2012; Kohler et al., 2012; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). Therefore, it is possible that parental academic pressure is culturally bound. However, further analysis (in addition to more precise measurement of pressure) of the impact of parental messages of academic pressure on student academic self-perceptions and performance are needed to ascertain the direction of this relationship and potential measurement effects of pressure within racial/ethnic groups.

Empirical work on parental pressure has been primarily conducted with US and Canadian White students and first- and second-generation Chinese American students, with training being the sole measure of pressure positively linked to outcomes. Research expanding the impact of academic pressure on child through PAS should make the distinction of the type of pressure being measured and assure that measured items are an accurate operationalization of their pressure definition. This may aid in our understanding of how maladaptive and adaptive pressure is associated with academic performance and offer further explanation of the noted racial-ethnic differences in the presence, and direction of relationships between pressure and academic outcomes in various social groups.

The current study notes that there is a distinction between maladaptive pressure (e.g., unrealistic high expectations and adverse responses to underachievement) and adaptive pressure (e.g., demandingness, training, and challenge), yet explicitly examines maladaptive pressure PAS. As such I expected negative relations between pressure messages and academic outcomes to occur.

Shame

Shame over academic shortcomings is associated with lower levels of academic achievement. In the present research shame is conceptualized as parent messages of disgrace or embarrassment in response to poor academic performance. Specifically, shame is defined as being made to feel or feeling ashamed, humiliated, or embarrassed due to poor academic performance.

Parental shame can have deleterious effects on students' self-efficacy, self-esteem, academic self-concept, motivation, and performance (Chua, 2012; Kohler et al., 2012; McGregor, 2005; Pekrun, 2007; Steinberg et al., 1991). Though little work exists that examines parent communications of shame and academic outcomes explicitly, research has demonstrated links between parents' use of shame messages and children's academic shame emotions. Research has found that when a child's sports performance does not meet parent expectations and parents offer negative verbal evaluations (i.e., disapproval) and punitive behaviors in response to this performance, parents socialize a fear of failure, an anti-motivating factor, in their child (Sagar et al., 2010; Weiner, 2010). These expressions of disapproval can be likened to parents communicating messages of shame to the child. In particular, parents' expressions of shame as the result of their child's poor in-game or practice performance can dampen child motivation or paralyze the child's engagement in the activity (Alessandri & Lewis, 1993; N. E.

Hill & Tyson, 2009; Kirk et al., 2012; McGregor, 2005; Pekrun, 2007; Sagar et al., 2010; Sagar & Lavallee, 2010; Steinberg et al., 1991). It is likely that parental shame messages have a similar effect on academic motivation.

In one study, parental academic shame messages were negatively associated with ability attributions of success and effort and positively linked to attributions of failure to lack of effort and external factors (Bempechat et al., 1999). This may be problematic for child academic functioning as success-ability attributions are positively related to academic achievement and failure-effort attributions are inconsistently linked to academic outcomes (Alessandri & Lewis, 1993; Bempechat & Drago-Severson, 1999; Ceballo, 2004; N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009; Kirk et al., 2012; McGregor, 2005; Natale et al., 2009; Pekrun, 2007; Sagar et al., 2010; Sagar & Lavallee, 2010; Weiner, 2010). These findings have adverse implications for students' post-failure motivation. Students feeling demoralized may reduce their level of engagement in the failed activity out of fear of encountering parental shame responses to repeated failure. Ross (2013), similarly, found negative associations between shame and students' classroom engagement.

Positive relationships between parental academic shame and fear of failure have been evidenced, suggesting that when parents instill in their child a fear of failure and express shame in their child's academic performance, the impact to the child's academic self-systems can be quite damaging (Alessandri & Lewis, 1993; Bempechat & Drago-Severson, 1999; Ceballo, 2004; Elliot & Thrash, 2004; N. E. Hill & Tyson, 2009; Kirk et al., 2012; McGregor, 2005; Natale et al., 2009; Sagar et al., 2010; Sagar & Lavallee, 2010; Weiner, 2010). However, in much of this research parents' shame is implied or interpreted from qualitative data, but not quantified. Quantitative measurement of shame is needed to further understand the impact of parents' actual

shame messages, children's perceptions of parents' shame messages, and children's personal academic shame on student academic functioning.

Parental messages of shame in response to underachievement or failure may also motivate students to work harder (Holodynski & Kronast, 2009). Holodynski and Kronast (2009) suggest that shame is an extremely negative emotion that threatens individuals' self-efficacy and this negative feeling will be actively avoided in future endeavors. Thus, students feeling shame might be more motivated to perform well and avoid shame in the future. However, shame is equally as likely to lead to withdrawal and may deliver a cost to the well-being of the child (Pekrun, 2007).

Research has begun to document the ways in which shame acts as a promotive and/or demoralizing factor in academic motivation and achievement (e.g., academic goals, academic performance, and emotions; Bempechat & Drago-Severson, 1999; Ceballo, 2004; Elliot & Thrash, 2004; McGregor, 2005; Natale et al., 2009; Pekrun, 2007; Turner, Husman, & Schallert, 2002; Weiner, 2010). There is little research to support positive associations between shame and academic functioning. One study of college students found a positive relationship between feelings of shame after poor academic performance and motivation (Turner et al., 2002). In another study, though a negative association was expected, researchers found no relationship between middle schoolers' perceptions of parental expressions of academic shame and their standardized math test scores (Bempechat et al., 1999). These findings could suggest that shame is not always associated with diminished achievement motivation. However, most studies suggest that shame is associated with decreased motivation and engagement (Elliot & Thrash, 2004; Pekrun, 2007).

Nevertheless, one important facet of this discussion of shame is that previous research relies on children's interpretations of their parents' achievement expectations and reactions to achievement or children's own experiences of parental shame in academic contexts. This research does not capture parental reports of their own shame messaging (see Ross, 2013 for an exception). Also, distinctions must be made between parents' shaming behaviors, children's perceptions of parents' shame, and children's own shame reactions. As such, these positive effects of shame (Holodynski & Kronast, 2009; Turner et al., 2002) can only be interpreted within the context of students' academic self. We do not know if this effect can just be attributed to individual differences in children who are more likely to perceive shame from parents or if parents are actually using shame as PAS practices. The current research uses adolescent reports of feeling ashamed of their academic performance, parent reports of shame in their child's academic performance, and both adolescent and parent reports of parents elicitation of child shame for poor performance (i.e., guilt) and the use of punishment for poor performance in an effort to begin to tease apart how each perspective is associated with adolescents academic functioning. This conceptualization of shame is consistent with Bempechat and colleagues (1999).

The Potential of Undifferentiated Pressure and Shame

In a study of Black middle school students, Ross (2013) found that pressure and shame items factored together to form a single reliable factor; pressure and shame were expected to be distinct dimensions of PAS (Ross, 2013). This implies that for parents of Black children, placing pressure on their child to perform well academically may not be entirely distinct from making their child feel ashamed for poor academic performance. There is research to support links between pressure and shame. In a summary of research on academic shame, it is noted that

parents' interest in good grades alone communicate high expectations that translate to high levels of parental pressure and may evoke shame in children (Holodynski & Kronast, 2009).

Pressure/shame as a single construct related negatively to engagement with new classroom material (i.e., curiosity) and there was a trend level negative effect on reengagement after failure (i.e., persistence), as expected (Ross, 2013). This work suggests that pressure and shame may be undifferentiated in its negative relation to academic functioning. However, since most research does not place pressure and shame in conversation with one another it is more likely that they are conceptually distinct rather than undifferentiated.

Furthermore, parents report engaging in pressure and shame at different rates. For example, when completing shame items, parents did not use the full scale in their responses (Ross, 2013). On a response scale ranging from one (never) to five (always), parents restricted their shame response choices to three (sometimes) and below. However, parents did use the full range of responses when responding to pressure items. It is possible that shame is a more severe or punitive form of pressure or some sort of academic psychological control (e.g., guilt induction) that parents rarely utilize. Therefore, distinctions between pressure and shame will be assumed in the current research as these constructs are likely theoretically distinct, having some empirical overlap.

Parental Academic Socialization Summary

The PAS literature suggests that the multidimensional content of parents' academic socialization messages is relevant when considering how parents influence the academic outcomes of children. Generally, the literature suggests (1) effort socialization is positively related to academic motivation and performance, (2) there is little research to confirm positive or negative associations between balance messages and the academic functioning of adolescents,

and (3) that pressure and shame messages are linked to maladaptive academic processes and outcomes for children,. Thus, in the present research I expected to find similar links between PAS messages and adolescents' academic outcomes.

Socialization Informants #PerspectiveMatters

Parents' actual parenting behaviors, what parents say they do, and children's perceptions of their parents' behaviors are distinct views of the same phenomena. Both parent and child perspectives of parenting relate to children's development. Specifically, when parents report PAS messages, relationships to child academic outcomes have emerged (Ross, 2013). For example, parents' reports of effort messages have been positively linked to children's GPA (Paulson, 1994) and engagement with new material in the classroom (Ross, 2013), and pressure messages have been negatively related to engagement with new classroom content and engagement after experiencing difficulty or failure (Ross, 2013). Similar relationships have emerged when examining child reports of PAS messages; messages of pressure have been negatively related to academic competence and achievement (Rogers et al., 2009). However, relationships between child-reported PAS and child academic outcomes tend to be stronger and may be a facet of method bias (e.g., where interrelations between constructs are attributed in part to being assessed from the same informant; (Elliot & Thrash, 2004; McGregor, 2005; Pekrun, 2007; P. M. Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012; P. M. Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003; Turner et al., 2002).

Within early childhood parent involvement research, parents are typically the primary reporters of parent involvement practices. However, research investigating the relationship between parenting and adolescents' developmental outcomes relies mainly on adolescents' reports of parenting behaviors. There is little research that includes both parent and adolescent

perspectives of parenting. Though both reports provide critical insight into the ways in which parent-adolescent interactions are linked to adolescent development (Pelegrina et al., 2003). One reason for this is that collecting data from both parents and children is costly and time consuming. As children develop and gain insight into their own psychological functioning researchers rely on adolescents' reports for their perceptions of parenting and rely less on parents' reports of parenting (Elliot & Thrash, 2004; Pekrun, 2007; P. M. Podsakoff et al., 2003; 2012; Schaefer, 1965b; 1965a; Turner et al., 2002). However, investigation of parent reports is necessary to gain an understanding of parent perceptions of their parenting and how parent self-reported behaviors, goals, and attitudes are linked to child parenting perceptions and child outcomes.

Though this research practice is prevalent, theory and empirical research would suggest that parents' reports of their own practices are important in the investigation of adolescent development (Pelegrina et al., 2003). Capturing both adolescent and parent perspectives of parenting is a better approximation of the dynamic and transactional construct that is parenting (Sameroff, 1991). Parenting is a facet of both the child and the parent; one's actions and responses influence the other in this iterative and subjective process (P. M. Podsakoff et al., 2003; 2012; Sameroff & Mackenzie, 2003; Schaefer, 1965a; 1965b). This is not to suggest that parenting as captured by a single informant is inaccurate – it is merely one perspective of a relational construct.

Socialization research suggests that parenting is a reciprocal relationship. Parents and children construct the parenting relationship together (Bell, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Sameroff, 1991). While the current study does not model the reciprocal process of PAS, it is informed by this phenomenon. Both parents' and children's perspectives are relevant in the

construction of PAS. To capture the perspective of both parties within the relationship can give a more descriptive picture of the actual academic socialization process.

Research using both parent and child perspectives has shown little concordance between the reports of both parents and children (Feinberg et al, 2000; Pelegrina et al., 2003) with concordance between parent and child reports of parenting being low to moderate (Aquilino, 1999; Demo et al., 1987; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Ginsburg & Bronstein, 1993). This research also reveals, scalar non-invariance between parent and child reports of parenting. Specifically, though "the conceptual structure and measurement of parenting behavior is comparable across family members" (Janssens, et al., 2014, p. 3), mean differences between parent- and child-reported parenting were evidenced. That is, parents generally report more positive parenting or higher levels of favorable parenting aspects than children (Aquilino, 1999; Janssens et al., 2014; Sameroff & Mackenzie, 2003; Schaefer, 1965a; 1965b). Likewise, adolescents report more negative views of the family context than parents (Ohannessian & De Los Reyes, 2014).

There are many reasons that parent and child reports of parent socialization are not highly correlated. Parents can often present socialization behaviors that do not reflect their intentions; that is, parents may be unaware of what they are actually conveying to their children. Likewise, children can misinterpret parenting behaviors and communications. Hughes and colleagues (2006) argue that there are several complexities [conceptual and methodological limitations] of socialization that inform the extent to which socialization messages are communicated and interpreted by children as parents/socializers intend. Hughes and colleagues offer some explanations for parent-child socialization discrepancies. For instance, there may be variation in the initiation of socialization messages. Parents' socialization messages may be proactive or a

part of an overall parenting agenda. For instance, parents may want to impart a strong work ethic in their child and therefore provide pressure and effort messages at regular intervals or when the thought crosses their mind. Socialization messages can also be reactive or offered in response to events experienced in the life of the parent, child, or current events witnessed in the news or online. Parents viewing stories about adolescents being overworked and experiencing academic stress and depression may offer balance messages to their child as a result. Socialization messages can be deliberately communicated or unintentional; parents may mean to communicate effort and instead communicate pressure. Each of these scenarios could be a factor in the low intercorrelations found between parent and adolescent socialization messages.

Furthermore, parental socialization messages may be sent, but they may not be received. For example, discrepancies were found between parents' race-related socialization (i.e., racial pride) messages and Black children's pro-Black attitudes such that when parents reported frequent race pride messages the child held less pro-Black attitudes (Barnes, 1980; as cited in Hughes et al., 2006). Researchers have interpreted this finding to mean one of two things: 1) children misinterpreted frequent race pride messages to be negative messages about Black people, or 2) Black parents "failed to report their own behaviors accurately" (Hughes et al., 2006). Therefore, to form a more accurate representation of socialization both parent(s) and child perspectives are needed.

An additional issue to consider with regard to parent and child reporting is that child-reported parenting yields stronger relations to child-reported academic outcomes than parent reports (Barry et al., 2008; Cohen & Rice, 1997; Demo et al., 1987; Paulson, 1994; Scott, Briskman, & Dadds, 2011). Stronger interrelations between child-reported parenting and academic outcomes may be attributed to method bias or lack of independence within the data

analyzed. Interrelations are more likely to be observed when students report both predictor and outcome variables (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012).

Additionally, research has documented differences in the predictive value/validity of parent and child reports on child outcomes (Aquilino, 1999; Janssens et al., 2014; Pelegrina et al., 2003; Sameroff & Mackenzie, 2003; van Dulmen & Egeland, 2010). Child-reported parenting has explained more variance in objective academic outcomes (e.g., teacher-reported academic competence) than parent reports (Pelegrina et al., 2003). However, research has documented instances where parent reports of involvement are more predictive of child academic outcomes than child reports of involvement (Pelegrina et al, 2003). Research examining parent and adolescent reports of acceptance (i.e., parents being loving and responsive) and school involvement found that parents' reports of involvement were more strongly related to adolescents' self-reported GPA and teacher- and self-reported competence than were child reports. Research has also noted differences in the relationship between parenting and child outcomes based on the informant of parenting (Janssens et al., 2014). Where mother- and father-reported supportive behaviors are associated with lower levels of adolescents' depression, adolescent reports of parents' support are unrelated to adolescents' depression (Janssens et al., 2014). Furthermore, adolescent reports of involvement were unrelated to their motivation. However, parent reports of involvement positively predicted adolescent motivation. Likewise, adolescent reports of acceptance are more strongly related to their self-reported GPA and competence than parent reports of acceptance (Pelegirina et al., 2003). It is possible that parents are better reporters of concrete behaviors in which they engage and children are better reporters of affective variables that capture parent-child interactions.

Research suggests that both parent and child socialization perspectives are antecedents of

child development outcomes (Eccles, 2007). Intuitively, this research suggests that parents' actual socialization (i.e., behavior and beliefs) has a direct impact on children's perceptions of parents' socialization. Moreover, Eccles' theoretical model suggests that parents' socialization and children's perceptions of parents' socialization are directly related to children's self-schema, academic motivation, identity, and other developmental outcomes. That is, parent socialization has both a direct and indirect effect on child outcomes via child perceptions of socialization. However, little research has tested this theory. The research proposed herein seeks to test this theory using both parent and child PAS perspectives in relation to both child-reported (i.e., subjective) and teacher-reported (i.e., objective) academic outcomes.

Reliance on single-informant research designs limit understanding of complex social phenomena (Aquilino, 1999; De Los Reyes, 2011; Janssens et al., 2014; Pelegrina et al., 2003; van Dulmen & Egeland, 2010). Proponents of dyadic data analysis assert each informant offers a unique contribution to explaining variance in measured outcomes (De Los Reyes, 2011; Gonzalez & Griffin, 1999; 2002; Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006; Pelegrina et al., 2003; van Dulmen & Egeland, 2010). In other words, "understanding the similarities and differences among family members' perspectives yields useful predictive information that cannot be obtained from studying these perspectives in isolation from one another." (Ohannessian & De Los Reyes, 2014, p1).

This methodological limitation has created gaps in the knowledge of PAS. In particular, there is little data to form an understanding of the ways in which parent and child perspectives of PAS may differ in their relation to child engagement, motivation, and performance. Also, research has not been able to discuss the level of concordance (i.e., degree to which there is agreement/disagreement between child and parent reports) that exists in parent and child reports

of PAS and parenting. With research using both parent and child PAS perspectives we can begin to see how what parents say they do relates to child outcomes when we also account for what their child says they do. Findings of this nature will contribute to our theoretical knowledge of parental influences on child academic development.

From the extant literature several assertions about child and parent PAS perspectives can be made. First, we see that there is little concordance found between parent and child socialization perspectives. However, both parent and child socialization perspectives have unique predictive value as parent and child perspectives of the same parenting behavior have unique relationships with child outcomes. Second, due to the many challenges of miscommunication, unintended messages, and other sources of parent-child socialization discrepancies, capturing both perspectives may aid in forming a more accurate picture of the socialization process and its relation to child outcomes. The issues of method bias in using single informant data and the ways in which multiple informant data can mitigate this issue have been noted. The current research utilizes both parent and child perspectives to examine relations between PAS and child outcomes.

Summary

The preceding literature review summarized findings on parent academic socialization. This research suggests that parents have an influence on the academic development and outcomes of their children via content specific messages they convey to their children. The literature discussed herein explains the ways in which specific parental academic socialization messages of effort, balance, pressure, and shame are associated with the academic functioning of children. Furthermore, I reviewed research that discussed pathways by which parents' socialization practices have an influence on child academic development. Theory suggests that

the mechanism through which parents have an impact on child outcomes is children's perceptions of parents' socialization. This is an understudied mechanism of parental influence on child academic outcomes. Though research situates parenting as a reciprocal process in which parents and children construct the relationship together, each with their own perspectives, much of parenting research has relied on single informant data to examine parenting effects. In an effort to honor the dynamic nature of the parent-child relationship, research has begun to include both parent and child perspectives in investigations of parental influences to child academic development. The present research intends to further scholarship by investigating the concordance between parent and child PAS perspectives and the effect of both parent and child perspectives on child outcomes.

Revisiting the Current Research

In this study I will examine links between the PAS perspectives of parents and adolescents and adolescent outcomes in a sample of Black parent-adolescent dyads from three school districts composed of middle and high schools that vary/are diverse in SES and racial/ethnic composition. I aim to: 1) assess the level of concordance between parent and adolescent PAS messages, 2) explore relations between PAS message concordance and adolescent outcomes, 3) investigate the unique effects of both parent and adolescent PAS perspectives while controlling for the effect of the other dyad member's perspective, 4) examine the extent to which parents' PAS message have an indirect effect on adolescents academic outcomes, and 5) determine if the relations under investigation differ for male and female students. In my investigation of relations between parent and adolescent PAS and adolescents' outcomes I will control for parents' education, adolescent gender (where it is not a moderator), and adolescent grade.

Counter to previous research (Achenbach et al., 1986), I expect to find some concordance between parent and adolescent PAS perspectives as I am using methods that assess relative and not absolute agreement. I expect PAS message concordance to be related to adaptive academic and psychological functioning. Consistent with existing research (Wang & Benner, 2013), I would expect that small discrepancies where adolescents report more optimal PAS (e.g., less shame or pressure, more balance, average effort) than their parent would also have adaptive outcomes. Adolescents of dyads with large discrepancies would likely have the least adaptive outcomes. I expect that parents PAS messages of pressure and shame will relate negatively to all adolescent outcomes and messages of effort will be positively related to adolescent's academic outcomes. There is not enough research to inform hypotheses of relations between balance messages and adolescents academic outcomes. However, balance messages would relate positively to adolescents' well-being and psychosocial functioning. I expect that parent PAS perspectives will have both direct and indirect effects on adolescents' self-reported and teacher-reported academic outcomes with the strongest direct effects on parent-reported preparation. That is, I expect parent PAS perspectives to have an impact on adolescent outcomes via adolescent PAS perspectives. Lastly, based on existing PAS differential socialization research (Ross, 2013), I expect that there will be mean difference between male and female adolescents in both parent- and adolescent-reported PAS. It is expected that these gender differences in PAS would account for potential gender differences in adolescent outcomes and differences in relations between pressure, shame, and adolescent engagement and adolescent outcomes.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The current research uses data collected annually over the course of four years as a part of a larger cohort-sequential longitudinal study conducted through The Center for the Study of Black Youth in Context (CSBYC). The CSBYC study focuses on the development of Black adolescents within school and family contexts and includes annual data from the target child, one parent, and up to two teachers (either English/Language Arts or Social Studies). Such matched multiple-informant data are best suited to address questions of parent-child concordance in PAS.

Participants

Data were collected annually between 2010 and 2014 from students in grades six to twelve, one of their parents, and a major subject teacher. Each year a new cohort of students took the initial survey and each group was followed longitudinally for up to four years, resulting in a total of 4 cohorts of participants. Data presented herein were drawn from a larger longitudinal project examining the development, academic and race-related experiences, and academic and race-related socialization of African-American adolescents from three different school districts.

These three districts were selected because of variation in socioeconomic and racial composition of the students. District 1 included schools in which, on average, 71.4% of students qualified for free and reduced lunch in 2010 (59.4% of entire sample). Black students represented 82.9% of the enrollees; White students represented 5.1%, American Indian/Alaskan, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Latino students were undifferentiated in these data and are estimated to represent 10.6% of District 1 students. District 2 included schools where, on average, 25.6%

of students qualified for free or reduced price lunch in 2010 (10.4% of entire sample). Black students represented 20.8% of the enrollees; White students represented 65.9% of enrollees, American Indian/Alaskan students represented 0.4%, Asian/Pacific Islander students represented 8%, and Latino students represented 5% of students within District 2. District 3 included schools where, on average, 17.7% of students qualified for free or reduced price lunch in 2010 (29.9% of the entire sample). Black students represented 25.6% of the enrollees; White students represented 58.9% of enrollees American Indian/Alaskan students were not represented District 3, Asian/Pacific Islander students represented 12%, and Latino students represented 1.3% of students within District 3.

The present study utilizes data reported by parents, students, and teachers in the same academic year. This study uses wave one data from all cohorts where both parents and students responded to PAS items, with one exception. Due to an oversight in survey programming, cohort one parents were not administered PAS items in the first year of data collection; only parents reporting for the first time (i.e., wave one) in years two, three, and four were surveyed with the PAS items (these are cohorts two, three, and four respectively). Therefore, this study uses wave one data for cohorts two, three, and four, and will not include cohort one data as these dyads do not have parent-reported PAS.

Dyads

Of the 1,326 students that participated in wave one of the study, 308 parents also participated and completed the PAS items. Therefore, the present research analyzed the data of 308 parent-adolescent dyads. Each dyad is composed of a student participant and one residential adult primary caregiver of the student. Parent-adolescent dyads are relatively evenly distributed across CSBYC study years, 30.5% reported in Year 2, 31.2% in Year 3, and 38.3% in Year 4.

Dyads are composed of both monoracial (*n*=273, 88.6% of adolescents) and multiracial (*n*=35, 11.4% of adolescents) Black identified adolescents and mostly Black parents (*n*=280, 90.9%). A small number of parents are White (*n*=10, 3.2%), Asian (*n*=1, .3%), Latino (*n*=1, .3%), or Multiracial (*n*=5, 1.6%) identified.

Parents

Reporting parents/caregivers ranged in age from 22 to 76 years old (*M*=42.29, *SD*=8.10), were primarily female (*n*=271, 88%), and primarily the mother to the child (*n*=258, 83.8%). About 7% of parents held less than a high school diploma, 9.7% had only a high school diploma, 28.3% had some college, and 54.7% had a college degree or more (54.7%). Parents varied in their marital status; 31.8% were single, 4.5% were single and living with a partner, 38.3% were married, and 24.7% were divorced, separated, or widowed. Parents reported a median household income of $35,000-$45,000, with a mean of $45,000-$55,000 annually.

Adolescents

Adolescents ranged in age from 11 to 18 years-old (*M*=13.65, *SD*= 1.49). A little more than half were female (*n*=163, 52.9%). Most adolescents (*n*=185, 60%) were in middle school. Adolescent participants were distributed across grades as follows: sixth (2.3%), seventh (37.7%), eighth (20.1%), ninth (22.4%), tenth (10.4%), eleventh (4.5%), and twelfth (2.6%) grades.

Teachers

Forty-eight teachers completed surveys for 220 adolescents. Most teachers were women (*n*=31, 64.6%), and were distributed across subject areas as follows: English (*n*=17, 35.4%), Language Arts (*n*=8, 16.7%), Social Studies (*n*=22, 45.8%), and other (*n*=1, 2.1%). Teachers ranged in educational attainment from a bachelor's degree (*n*=3, 6.3%) to a doctorate (*n*=2, 4.2%). About 10% of teachers reported having some graduate school (*n*=5), and most held a

master's degree (*n*=38, 79.2%). Number of years teaching ranged from two to 28 years, with teachers having an average of 13.04 years of teaching (*SD*=5.89). Most teachers identified as White (*n*=35, 72.9%), 12.5% identified as Black (*n*=6), 8.3% identified as Multiracial (*n*=4), 4.2% identified as Latino, and one teacher identified as Arabic (2.1%). Teachers also ranged in the number of students for whom they completed surveys. Most teachers completed surveys for one (*n*=12, 24.5%), or two (*n*=12, 24.5%) adolescents, 35.4% completed surveys for three to eight of their students (*n*=17), 15.6% completed surveys for 10 to 18 of their students (*n*=7).

Procedures

Information packets were mailed to adolescents' families at home and flyers were distributed during lunch periods and parent meetings within the school building. Primary caregivers provided signed consent for adolescents' participation prior to survey administration. Adolescent participants provided assent on the day of survey administration. After adolescents completed the survey, their parents and English/Language Arts and Social Studies teachers were invited to participate. Only one adolescent and one parent per family were recruited to participate. However, both English/Language Arts and Social Studies teachers were invited to assess each student. Teacher reports with the most complete data and those that specified that they were the most confident in their ability to evaluate the target child relative to other teachers completing surveys assessing the academic engagement and ability of the adolescent were used in this study.

Adolescents

Web-based surveys were administered during school hours with trained research assistants present. Adolescent surveys that asked questions about school-related experiences,

family life, and social and emotional functioning took approximately 40 minutes to complete. Adolescents were compensated $20 for their participation.

Parents

One parent of each adolescent participant was invited to participate in the study. Approximately 32.5% of adolescents had a parent choose to participate in the study. Parents completed web-based surveys regarding their beliefs, attitudes, parenting practices and goals, their adolescent's competencies, and social and emotional functioning on their own. Parent surveys took approximately 60 minutes to complete. Parents were compensated $50 for their participation.

Teachers

English/Language Arts and Social Studies teachers of each adolescent student were invited to participate in the study. Teachers were recruited via an email invitation. Teacher surveys took approximately 10-15 minutes to complete a brief survey for each adolescent student. Surveys asked questions about the target adolescent students' performance, competencies, engagement, and social and emotional functioning. Teachers were compensated with a $10 gift card for each adolescent student survey they completed.

Measures

Parent Academic Socialization

A modified version of the Education Socialization Scale (ESS; Bempechat et al., 1999) was used to assess parent academic socialization (PAS). Adolescents responded to 15 items and parents responded to 14 indicating how frequently PAS messages had occurred in the current school year. Parents and adolescents responded to 14 similarly phrased items. A single item of the shame subscale was excluded from parent survey in error. PAS dimensions represented in the

ESS-M are: 1) effort (3 items; parent α=.74, adolescent α=.72; e.g., "[My parent(s)/caregiver(s) say I]/[I tell my Target Child he/she] could do better in school if [I]/[he/she] worked harder."), 2) pressure (3 items, parent α=.52, 4 items, adolescent α=.66; e.g., "[My parent(s)/caregiver(s)]/[I] put pressure on [me]/[my Target Child] to do well in school."), 3) shame (2 items, parent *r*=.46; 3 items, adolescent α=.77; e.g., "[My parent(s)/caregiver(s) make me]/[I make my Target Child] feel ashamed if [I]/[she/he] [do]/[does] badly in school."), and 4) balance (3 items; parent α=.48, adolescent α=.64; e.g., "It is as important to [my parent(s)/caregivers(s)]/[me] for [me]/[my Target Child] to be happy as it is for [me]/[my Target Child] to do well in school."). See Appendix B for a full list of adolescent and parent items.

The ESS-M is modified from a measure that has been used in previous research with Black students (Bempechat et al., 1999; Ross, 2013). All items are on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always). For each subscale, a composite variable was computed by averaging relevant items. Each variable was constructed such that higher values reflect a greater frequency of the respective PAS message. See Table 4.2 for means and standard deviations.

The original ESS (Bempechat et al., 1999) included messages of effort, shame, guilt, teaching (e.g., home-based involvement), and future orientation (e.g., connecting education with one's future outcomes and opportunities). The current fifteen-item scale uses eight items from the original ESS: four effort items, three shame items, and one teaching item. Seven items were created and added to the measure to capture other PAS messages parents may provide to their children: two placing emphasis on strong academic performance expectations (pressure), two placing emphasis on student happiness and well-being in the context of working to do well in school (balance), and three items to measure the potential pressure parents may put upon their children to perform well academically (pressure). Ross (2013) conducted exploratory factor

analysis of parent-reported PAS and found three reliable subscales of the 15-item ESS-M; effort (4 items), balance (3 items), and though theoretically distinct, pressure (5 items) and shame (3 items) items factored together within the small dataset of Black parents (n=74). It is expected that pressure and shame will factor into separate subscales in the present data.

Classroom Engagement

An adaptation of Wellborn and colleagues' student engagement scale (Skinner, Kindermann, & Furrer, 2009a; Skinner, Kindermann, Connell, & Wellborn, 2009b; Wellborn, & Connell, 1990) was used to measure classroom engagement. This adaptation has been used reliably in previous research with Black participants (Neblett et al., 2006). Adolescents reported their classroom engagement on a four-point scale ranging from 1 (not true at all) to 4 (very true) across eight items representing two classroom engagement constructs: curiosity defined as engagement with new classroom material (4 items; α=.45; "I work hard when we do something new in class."; *M*=2.90, *SD*=.54, 4 items) and persistence defined as re-engagement after failure (4 items; α=.68; "If I can't get a problem right the first time, I just keep trying."; *M*=3.21; *SD*=.61). Given the low internal consistency for adolescent reports of curiosity, this subscale was omitted from further analyses. For the adolescent persistence subscale, a composite variable was computed by averaging relevant items; higher values reflect more academic persistence.

Teachers also reported on the engagement of adolescent students in their classrooms using the items from Neblett et al. (2006) and the same four-point response scale for curiosity (4 items; α=.94; "This student works hard when we do something new in class."; *M*=2.99; *SD*=.84) and persistence (4 items; α=.96; "If this student can't get a problem right the first time, s/he just keeps trying."; *M*=2.94; *SD*=.86). For each subscale, a composite variable was computed by

averaging relevant items. Each variable was constructed such that higher values reflect more academic curiosity and persistence. See Appendix B for a listing of classroom engagement items.

Perceptions of Academic Preparation

Adolescents and parents reported their perceptions of how prepared the adolescent is to complete academic tasks. Adolescents and parents were asked to rate on a scale of 1 (not at all prepared) to 5 (very prepared) how prepared the adolescent is, generally, for tests at school and homework assignments (2 items; parent r=.79, p<.001, M=3.64, SD=.99; adolescent r=.57, p<.001, M=3.54, SD=.91; "Usually, how prepared is your child [are you] for tests at school?; How prepared, typically, is your child [are you] with homework assignments?"). The mean of the two items was computed to form a composite variable of academic preparation such that higher values reflect higher levels of preparation.

Grade Point Average

Adolescents were asked to select the category that best described their grade point average (GPA) in the last year. Adolescents selected one of nine responses listing letter grades and its corresponding numerical range (e.g., "A (93-100)"). Letter grade response options ranged from "D and below" to "A" (i.e., Which category best describes your average grade last year?: A (93-100), A- (90-92), B+ (87-89), B (83-86), B- (80-82), C+ (77-79), C (73-76), C- (70-72), D (69 or below)). Responses were coded such that higher values reflect a higher GPA. Adolescents on average reported between "B" and "B+" (M=6.5, SD= 2.19).

Student Competence

Adolescents' student competence was defined as academic competence relative to classmates. Teachers offered evaluations of student academic ability of each adolescent participant in comparison to their classmates on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (much less than

classmates) to 5 (much more than classmates) (4 items; α=.90; "In comparison to classmates, how strong is the student academically?'; *M*=3.33, *SD*=1.03). The mean of the four items was computed to form a composite of student competence such that higher values reflect higher levels of student competence. See Appendix B for a list of student competence items.

Adolescent Well-Being

The Psychological Well-Being Scale (De Los Reyes, 2011; Gonzalez & Griffin, 1999; 2002; Kenny et al., 2006; Ryff & Singer, 1996) was used to assess adolescents' psychological well-being. Adolescents indicated their level of agreement with 24 statements on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree; α=.81; "In general, I feel confident and positive about myself."; *M*=3.72, *SD*=.50). This construct captures adolescents positive psychological function and is defined as the development and self-realization of the individual (Gonzalez & Griffin, 1999; 2002; Kenny et al., 2006; Ryff & Singer, 1996; 2006), p. 14). Psychological well-being includes aspects of positive relations with others (4 items), personal growth (4 items), autonomy (4 items), environmental mastery (4 items), purpose in life (4 items), and self-acceptance (4 items). A composite variable taking the mean of all 24 items was computed such that higher values reflect higher levels of well-being. See Appendix B for a list of psychological well-being items.

Covariates

Several variables are used as controls in the current study. Studies have found gender differences in PAS. Parents of Black boys have reported more effort socialization and pressure than those of Black girls (Ross, 2013), and parents of Black girls report more balance messages than those of Black boys. Mean level gender differences have been observed in pressure

messages among White Canadians such that girls report more pressure from their parents than boys (Rogers et al., 2009).

Child gender, child grade (whether the child is in middle or high school), parent education, and monoracial versus multiracial status were tested as controls in the analytic models. Theory suggests that parents of adolescents in high school are less involved than those of adolescents in middle school. To explore this suggestion, I recoded adolescents' grade-level to reflect two groups of adolescents, those in middle and high school. In addition, preliminary analyses suggested that teacher reports of adolescent students' engagement may differ by adolescent racial self-identification such that teachers report more engagement for multiracial Black students than monoracial Black students. This may be controlled for in models predicting teacher-reported outcomes. Lastly, parent education has been strongly linked to various forms of parental involvement. As a form of parental involvement, it is important to consider the effect of parent education on parent's academic socialization.

Missing Data

Composite scores of study variables were only computed in instances where participants have completed a majority of the relevant items. For example, composites of four items must have 75% or more of the items completed (i.e., three completed items) to be calculated for a participant. These composite scores were used to run descriptive and preliminary analyses, and latent profile analyses.

To estimate structural equation models (i.e., measurement and theory testing models) full information maximum likelihood (FIML; Arbuckle, 1996)) was employed to handle missing data. Rather than imputation, FIML utilizes all data present to estimate constructed variables and pathways.

Data Analysis Plan

Preliminary Data Analysis

Correlations among study variables were examined to determine relevant covariates and screen for any signals of multicollinearity. Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to determine if study variables differed by school district, middle and high school students, and mono- and multiracial adolescents. Also, as a precursor to differential socialization analysis, I conducted an ANOVA to determine if PAS messages differed by gender.

Dyadic Measurement Model of PAS. Prior to assessing parent-adolescent concordance, I conducted a measurement model of dyadic PAS. This was accomplished using a confirmatory factor analysis measurement model. Specifically, I conducted a structural equation measurement model of the dyadic data. Within this model each observation represents a dyad (N=308). The dyadic measurement invariance model estimated eight latent variables: pressure, effort, shame, and balance for both parents and children (see Figure 3.1 for model and Appendix B for corresponding items). All structural equation models were run using MPlus 7.6 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2016; L. K. Muthén & Muthén, 2015).

Concordance Assessment

Once good fitting PAS measurement was established, I computed the corresponding subscales. I then conducted latent profile analysis (LPA) to assess concordance (i.e., profiles of (dis)agreement) among PAS messages). I ran individual LPA for each PAS message using parent- and adolescent-reported PAS message rather than running a single LPA with all four PAS messages reported by both parent and adolescent. This form of analysis produced profiles of agreement between parent and adolescent PAS reports. These profiles not only capture concordance (or discordance), but also the direction of and degree to which the concordance or

discordance exists. Specifically, when considering that the PAS response choices capture the frequency with which the message is conveyed within a given time period, the resultant latent profiles indicate *how much* parents and adolescents (dis)agree on the frequency with which that message occurred. Latent Gold 4.5 (Vermunt & Magidson, 2008) was used to run these analyses.

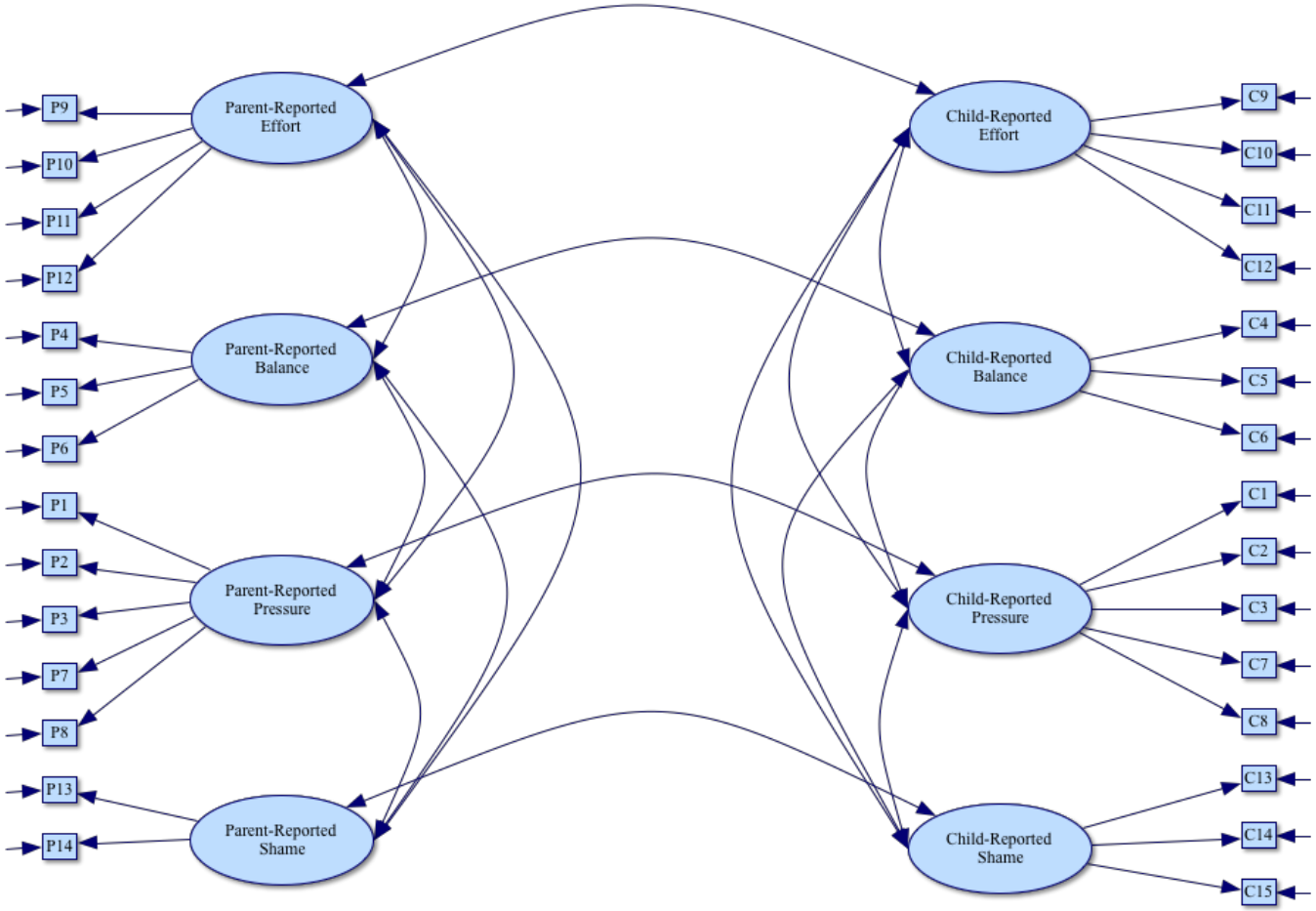


Figure 3. 1 PAS Dyadic Measurement Model

Running a single LPA has the advantage of using all of the information to create profiles of PAS and (dis)agreement. If I were to run a single LPA with the four adolescent and four parent PAS messages, it would be difficult to interpret the findings of such an analysis. Profiles/classes emerging from such analyses may be conflated with both (dis)agreement and clustering on the messages. Running separate LPAs for each message is a better representation of (dis)agreement and yields more interpretable results.

Upon establishing LPA models of good fit based on the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), entropy scores, and the bootstrap likelihood ratio test, I used ANOVAs to examine potential demographic differences between profiles within each PAS concordance message profile via SPSS.

Concordance as a Predictor of Adolescent Outcomes

Using profiles established in the previously discussed PAS LPA, I conducted a series of multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs) with covariates of interest against the outcomes of interest in this study to determine how LPA concordance/discordance profiles relate to the academic motivation and performance, and well-being of adolescents.

Multiple Informant Analysis

In addition to addressing concordance in parent and child reports and how concordance is associated with child engagement, motivation, and performance, this research assesses the effects of both adolescent- and parent-reported PAS on adolescent engagement, motivation, and performance. Structural equation model(s) were employed to examine relations between parent and adolescent-reported PAS, adolescent academic self-views, parents' perception of the adolescent's academic ability/preparation, and adolescent classroom engagement and grades (see Figure 3.2 for the conceptual model and Figure 3.3 for the statistical model). These models

controlled for relevant study covariates. Models were conducted for each PAS message. That is, separate meditational models were conducted for balance, pressure, shame, and effort via structural equation modeling with first order latent predictor variables and observed outcome variables. Direct effects of both parent and adolescent PAS messages were examined in relation to adolescent outcomes of well-being, persistence, GPA, preparation, and student competence. Indirect effects testing adolescents' PAS reports as a mediator between parent-reported PAS and adolescent outcomes were also tested to examine theory of the mediational role of adolescent perceptions of parent PAS in relations between parent-reported PAS and adolescent outcomes.

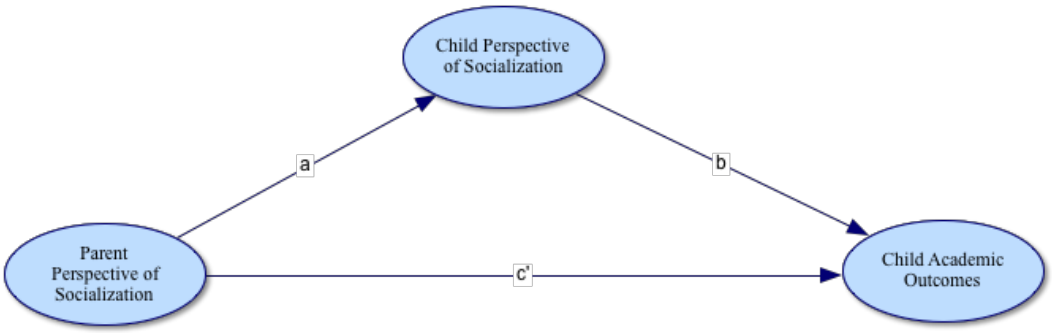


Figure 3. 2 Conceptual Model of Direct and Indirect Effects

Mediation models were conducted and interpreted in accordance with the standards set forth by Hayes (2013). Structural equation models were conducted to estimate the direct effects of both parent and adolescent PAS on adolescent outcomes (see Figure 3.3) and indirect effect of parent PAS on child outcomes. The indirect effects provide evidence of mediational role of adolescent-reported PAS (or lack thereof) and direct effects will allow me to interpret the effect of parent- and adolescent-reported PAS while controlling for the report of the other dyad member.

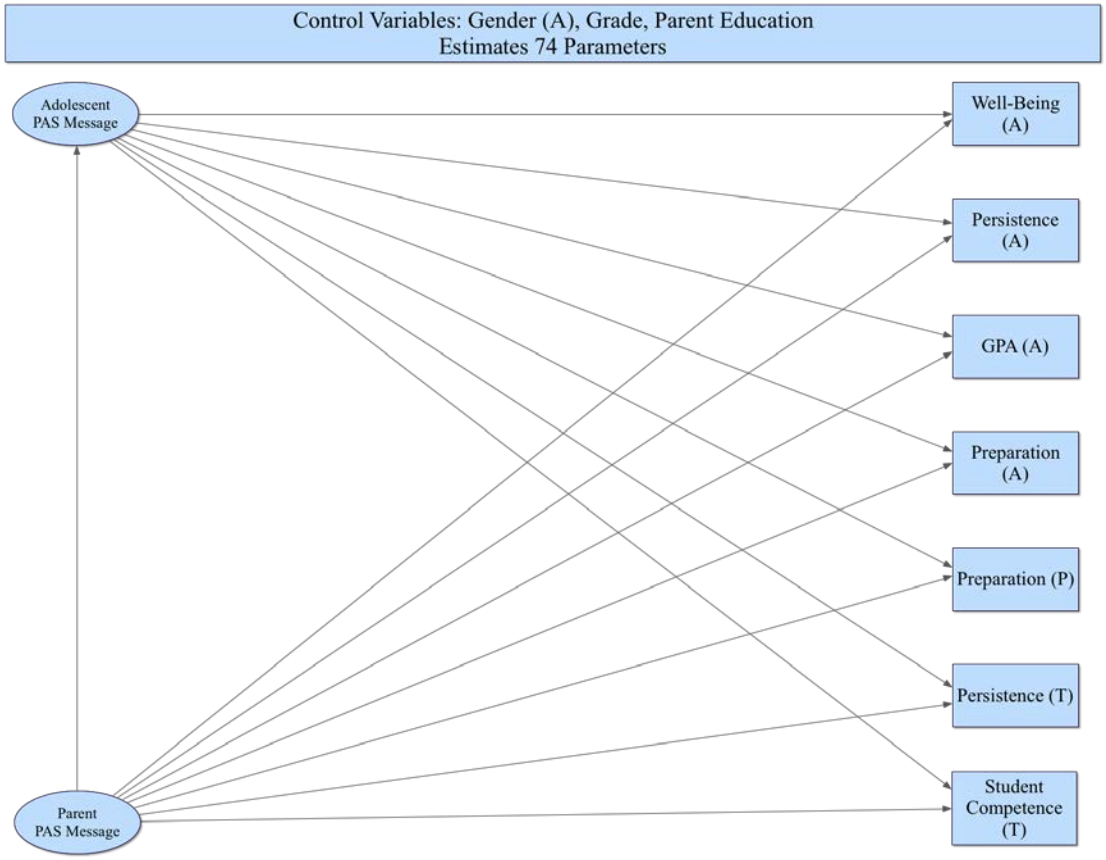


Figure 3. 3 Structural Model of Direct and Indirect Effects

Differential Socialization

After establishing good fitting structural equation models as described above, I will run a moderated mediation model (i.e., multi-group structural equation mediation model) using adolescent gender as a grouping variable to determine if these relations differ for Black boys and girls. This analysis will be employed to test the differential socialization hypothesis.

Chapter 4: Results

The research herein examined the way in which both parent and adolescent reports of PAS are associated with adolescent outcomes of well-being, and academic engagement, motivation, and performance. Specific aims of this work were: 1) to examine the degree to which parents and adolescents agree in their reporting of PAS messages (i.e., pressure, effort, balance, and shame), 2) to examine the ways in which this concordance/discordance in PAS messages may be linked to adolescent outcomes, 3) to assess the impact of both parent- and adolescent-reported PAS messages on adolescent outcomes, 4) to test theory suggesting parents' PAS has a direct and indirect influence on adolescent outcomes via adolescent perceptions of PAS, and 5) to explore if/how these relations differ for male and female adolescents. Aim 1 was addressed via latent profile analysis. Aim 2 used MANCOVA to examine concordance relations with academic outcomes. Aims 3 and 4 were addressed via structural equation mediation models of each PAS message. Aim 5 extended the structural models used to address aims 3 and 4 as multi-group models to test student gender as a moderator of the direct and indirect influences of PAS. Preliminary analyses were conducted to assess the relations between relevant covariates and study variables of interest, establish a PAS measurement model of good fit, examine interrelations between study variables of interest, and prune covariates unrelated to the models proposed.

Parent Academic Socialization Preliminary Analyses

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of parent and adolescent reports of PAS messages was conducted. The goal of this analysis was to establish good PAS measurement fit and assure that PAS items map onto the messages they are assumed to construct. This model estimated the loadings of PAS items on the PAS messages reported by parents and adolescents, the error variances of these relations, and correlations between latent constructs. This CFA (i.e., dyadic measurement model) was only interpreted upon establishment of a well-fitting model.

Dyadic Measurement Model

The best-fitting parent-adolescent PAS model was tested using a confirmatory factor analysis via Mplus 7.6 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2016), using all available PAS items as reported by parents and adolescents, consistent with the model proposed in Figure 3.1 with increasing parameter constraints. This initial model demonstrated adequate, though not good fit (χ^2 = 719.169, *df* = 345, *p* = .000; RMSEA= .058, 90% CI = .052-.064; CFI = .832; SRMR= .070) as the upper confidence interval of the RMSEA was outside of the criteria for good fit (i.e., greater than .06). Within this initial model, there was very poor loading (less than .35) of an effort item (P12 and C12, refer to Appendix B for specific items) for both parents and adolescents. Also, of the five items that comprise pressure, two loaded poorly for parents (items P7 and P8) and one loaded poorly for adolescents (item C1). These items were dropped and another measurement model was conducted with the remaining items without constrains (see Figure 4.1). The subsequent model demonstrated good fit (χ^2 = 385.371, *df* = 224, *p* = .000; RMSEA = .048, 90% CI = .040-.056; CFI = .896; SRMR = .053).

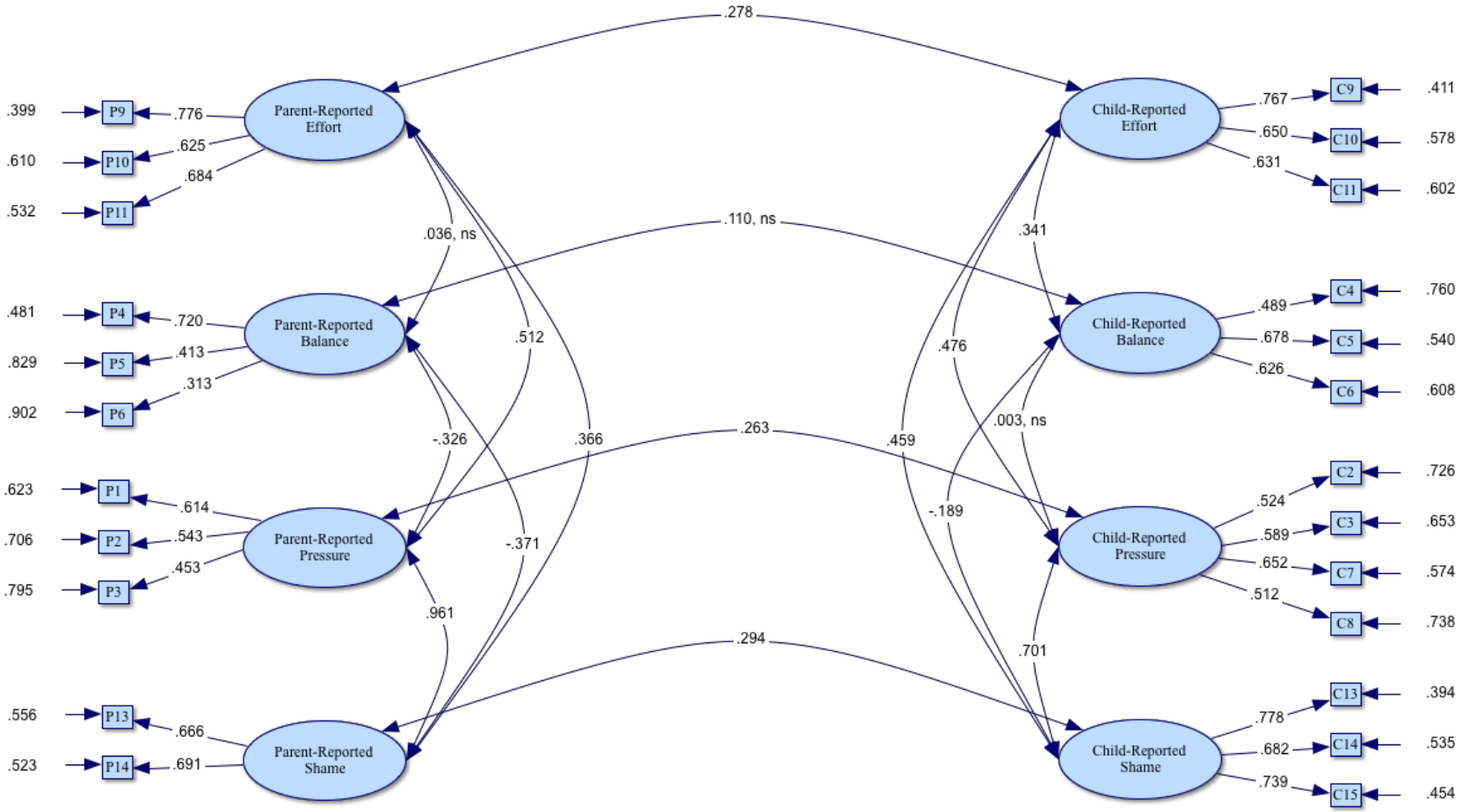


Figure 4. 1 Dyadic Measurement Model

Intercorrelations among Parent and Adolescent PAS

Correlations presented were drawn from the dyadic measurement model (see Figure 4.1). Inter-relations between parent-reported PAS in the present study differ slightly from those in existing research (Ross, 2013). Consistent with previous work, parent messages of pressure and shame were negatively related to balance messages (see Table 4.1). However, pressure and shame messages were positively related to effort messages; these messages were negatively related in previous work. Similarly, parents' balance and effort messages were unrelated.

Also, though the CFA model fit well with pressure and shame as distinct latent factors, there was a large correlation between parents' messages of pressure and shame. Such a large correlation would indicate that these latent factors are undifferentiated. However, as separate latent factors the strength and significance of their relations to balance and effort differ. Post-hoc t-tests were conducted to determine whether there were significant differences in the average reporting of pressure and shame and are discussed under the descriptive analysis heading.

Unlike parent PAS, adolescent effort and balance were positively related. Also, pressure was unrelated to balance in adolescent reports in contrast to the negative relation demonstrated in parent-reported PAS. Similar to parent PAS interrelations, pressure and shame were positively related to effort in adolescent reports of PAS and there was a strong relation between adolescent-reported pressure and shame, though this relation was much stronger for parents. Lastly, adolescent shame was negatively related to balance yet, pressure was unrelated to balance.

Table 4.1

PAS Correlations and Reliabilities

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Adolescent Effort								
2	Adolescent Balance	.341***							
3	Adolescent Pressure	.476***	.003						
4	Adolescent Shame	.459***	-.189*	.701***					
5	Parent Effort	.278***	-.080	.232**	.140†				
6	Parent Balance	-.077	.110	-.074	-.038	.036			
7	Parent Pressure	.206*	-.070	.263**	.247**	.512***	-.326**		
8	Parent Shame	.060	-.158†	.173†	.294***	.366***	-.371***	.961***	
	Reliability	α=.721	α=.637	α=.657	α=.774	α=.736	α=.475	α=.526	*r*=.459

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Correlations between parent and adolescent reports on corresponding PAS messages were moderate for messages of effort, pressure, and shame, suggesting some agreement in reports of the occurrence of PAS messages between parent and adolescent. However, there was no relation between parent and adolescent reports of balance messages.

Descriptive Analysis of PAS and Covariates

Descriptive analyses indicated that there were no ceiling or floor effects in any of the parent or adolescent PAS messages. I conducted diagnostics on the PAS composite variables and found no ceiling or floor effects (i.e., all response choices were utilized). Parent and adolescent reports of effort and balance PAS messages were negatively skewed and parent and adolescent reports of pressure and shame messages were positively skewed. Skew absolute values for PAS messages ranged from .23 to 1.17. Kurtosis absolute values for PAS messages ranged from .04 to 1.26. General research conventions suggest that an absolute value for skew and kurtosis less that 2 is acceptable (George & Mallery, 2010). However, significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests indicated that the variables may be slightly skewed and may violate the assumption of normality. This violation is typically managed via transformation. I used a square root transformation on the parent and adolescent PAS variables. However, upon rerunning diagnostics on the transformed variables there was no change in the tests of skewness. I then logarithmically transformed the data and conducted the diagnostics again; the tests of skewness did not improve. Considering that the magnitude of the skewness for all PAS variables is below a value of 2 (an indication that little skewness was present; as suggested in George & Mallery, 2010; Tabachnick & Fiddle, 2013) and that transformations made no impact on the skew or kurtosis values of the PAS messages, I used the original untransformed composites variables.

Paired t-tests were conducted to examine whether parents and adolescents reported significantly different average frequencies of PAS messages and if there were significant differences in the average reporting of pressure and shame within parent and adolescent reports (see Table 4.2). Parents reported more balance and pressure and far less shame than did their adolescent child. There were no differences in the reporting of effort messages across parents and adolescents. Also, there was a significant difference in the scores for adolescent pressure and shame; $t(297)=3.52$, $p = .001$ and parent pressure and shame; $t(292)= -15.98$, $p = .000$.

Table 4.2
PAS Means and Standard Deviations

	Adolescent		Parent		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Effort	3.85	0.98	3.76	0.96	
Balance	3.47	0.94	3.82	0.77	***
Pressure	2.44	0.93	2.67	0.84	**
Shame	2.65	1.13	1.89	0.93	***

†, p<.1; * p<.05; **, p<.01; ***, p<.001

Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) and bivariate Pearson's correlations were conducted to examine if and how PAS messages varied by the control variables in the study (i.e., adolescent and parent gender, adolescent grade (e.g., middle versus high school status), school district, adolescent multiracial status, parent age, parent education, and family income). Only parent shame messages differed by adolescent gender ($F(1, 301) = 10.64$, $p = .001$), where parents of males (M=1.99, SD=0.92) reported more shame messages than parents of females (M=1.83, SD=0.94). PAS messages did not differ by parent gender, multiracial identification, school district, or by middle versus high school students.

Table 4.3
Correlations Between PAS and Study Covariates

	Parent Age	Grade	Parent Education	Family Income
Adolescent Pressure	-.048	.044	-.027	-.079
Adolescent Balance	-.084	.014	.022	-.145*
Adolescent Effort	.051	.093	.101†	.092
Adolescent Shame	-.129*	-.014	.027	.067
Parent Pressure	-.082	.035	.015	.026
Parent Balance	.045	-.021	-.018	-.074
Parent Effort	-.038	-.141*	-.089	.013
Parent Shame	-.109	-.010	.083	.094

†,p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Generally, correlational findings between PAS messages and continuous covariates were small (see Table 4.3). Parent age was negatively related to adolescent reports of shame ($r(290)=-.129$, $p < .05$). Adolescent grade was negatively associated with parent messages of effort ($r(292)=-.141$, $p < .05$). Parent education was positively associated with adolescents' effort messages at a trend level ($r(303)=.101$, $p < .10$). Family income was negatively associated with adolescents balance messages ($r(285)=-.145$, $p < .05$).

Preliminary Analyses among Study Variables of Interest

Descriptive analyses of the outcome composite variables indicated that there were no ceiling or floor effects in any of the study outcomes of interest (i.e., all response choices were utilized). I conducted diagnostics on the composite variables on adolescent outcomes and there were no ceiling or floor effects (i.e., all response choices were utilized). All outcomes variables were negatively skewed. Skew absolute values for adolescent outcomes ranged from .15 to .72. Kurtosis absolute values for adolescent outcomes ranged from .12 to .81. General research

conventions suggest that an absolute value for skew and kurtosis less that 2 is acceptable (George & Mallery, 2010). However, significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of all outcomes of interest indicated that the variables may be skewed and may violate the assumption of normality. This violation is typically managed via transformation. I used a square root transformation on the data. However, upon conducting diagnostics on the transformed variables there was no change in the tests of skewness. I then logarithmically transformed the data and conducted the diagnostics again yet the tests of skewness did not improve. Considering that the magnitude of the skewness for all PAS variables is below a value of 2 (an indication that there is little skewness present; as suggested in George & Mallery, 2010; Tabachnick & Fiddle, 2013) and that transformations made no impact on the skew or kurtosis values of adolescent outcomes, I used the original untransformed composites variables.

Intercorrelations among PAS and Adolescent Outcomes

The following reported correlations are bivariate Pearson correlations conducted via SPSS. Adolescent reports of pressure were negatively related to all outcomes of interest (see Table 4.4). Adolescent shame messages were negatively related to adolescents' preparation for academic tasks, persistence, and GPA, and teacher reports of persistence and academic competence. Adolescent shame was negatively related to well-being and parent reports of adolescent preparation for academic tasks. Adolescent messages of balance were positively related to adolescents' preparation for academic tasks, persistence, and well-being and negatively related to teachers' reports of adolescents' persistence and academic competence. Adolescent effort messages were negatively related to GPA and teacher reports of persistence and competence. Adolescent effort messages were positively related to well-being.

Parents' pressure messages were negatively related to all outcomes of interest except adolescent persistence and well-being; the link between pressure and adolescent persistence was not significant and there was no relation between pressure and adolescent well-being. Parent shame messages were negatively related to adolescent persistence, GPA, parents' perceptions of adolescent preparation for academic tasks, and teacher reported persistence and academic competence. Parents' balance messages had no relation to the outcomes of interest in this study. Parents' effort messages were negatively related to adolescent persistence, parents' perceptions of preparedness, and teacher reports of academic competence. All PAS-outcome correlations demonstrated small to moderate relations.

Table 4.4

Correlations Between PAS and Adolescent Outcomes

	Adolescent Preparedness	Adolescent Persistence	Self Reported GPA	Adolescent Well-Being	Parent Preparedness	Teacher Persistence	Teacher Student Competence
Adolescent Pressure	-.259***	-.282***	-.191**	-.212***	-.120*	-.214**	-.178**
Adolescent Balance	.164**	.158**	-.070	.288***	.004	-.175*	-.143*
Adolescent Effort	.028	.103†	-.156**	.191**	-.112†	-.157*	-.200**
Adolescent Shame	-.150**	-.212***	-.150*	-.104†	-.105†	-.162*	-.168*
Parent Pressure	-.144*	-.109†	-.256***	-.069	-.261***	-.243***	-.255***
Parent Balance	-.002	-.004	-.004	.093	.057	-.021	-.009
Parent Effort	-.101†	-.141*	-.107†	-.007	-.248***	-.109	-.165*
Parent Shame	-.104†	-.136*	-.200**	-.113†	-.236***	-.195**	-.248***

†,p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

There were notable differences in the direction of relationships between PAS messages and adolescent outcomes by reporter. For example, parents' messages of effort were negatively related to all outcomes, in contrast to adolescent reports of effort messages which were positively associated with some outcomes and negatively associated with others. Likewise, adolescent reports of balance messages yielded positive and negative relationships with adolescent outcomes. However, parents' balance messages were unrelated to adolescent outcomes.

Additionally, all of the significant bivariate PAS and adolescent outcome relations were negatively related to teacher reported outcomes regardless of whether they were reported by the adolescent or parent. It was not expected that PAS messages of effort and balance would negatively relate to teacher reports of persistent or academic competence.

Intercorrelations between Adolescent Outcomes

Adolescent well-being was positively related to all academic outcomes reported by the adolescent but not those reported by teachers and parents. Adolescent reports of preparation were positively associated with all other study outcomes of interest. Parent reports of preparation were positively associated with all other study outcomes of interest except adolescent well-being. There was a small correlation between adolescent and teacher reported persistence. There was a moderate correlation between parent and adolescent preparation. Lastly, there was a large correlation between teacher reports of students' persistence and competence.

Table 4.5

Correlations Among Adolescent Outcomes

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Well-Being (A)						
2	Persistence (A)	.46***					
3	GPA (A)	.13*	.17**				
4	Preparation (A)	.31***	.37***	.34***			
5	Preparation (P)	.11†	.15*	.39***	.34***		
6	Persistence (T)	.08	.18**	.36***	.16*	.44***	
7	Student Competence (T)	.07	.13†	.33***	.12†	.40***	.76***

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001. Note: A= adolescent report, P = parent report, T = teacher report

Descriptive Analysis of Adolescent Outcomes

ANOVA and correlations were conducted to examine if and how adolescent outcomes varied by the control variables in the study (i.e., adolescent and parent gender, adolescent grade or middle versus high school status, school district, adolescent multiracial status, parent age, parent education, and family income). ANOVA results revealed that Black female adolescents were perceived as more prepared for academic tasks by their parents than Black male adolescents (see Table 4.5). Teachers reported higher rates of persistence and academic competence for Black female adolescents. There were no gender differences among adolescent-reported outcomes. However, adolescent gender remained a relevant covariate for parent- and teacher-reported variables of interest and parents' messages of shame.

Table 4.6
Mean Differences in Adolescent Outcomes by Adolescent Gender

	Male		Female		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Well-Being (A)	3.71	0.53	3.72	0.48	
Persistence (A)	3.19	0.64	3.24	0.59	
GPA (A)	6.68	2.06	6.43	2.30	
Preparation (A)	3.59	0.94	3.50	0.89	
Preparation (P)	3.46	1.06	3.78	0.91	**
Persistence (T)	2.79	0.88	3.08	0.83	*
Student Competence (T)	3.06	0.85	3.45	0.90	**

†, p<.1; * p<.05; **, p<.01; ***, p<.001. Note: A= adolescent report, P = parent report, T = teacher report.

No significant differences emerged between monoracial and multiracial adolescent outcomes.. Teacher reports of persistence were marginally higher for multiracial Black adolescents (*M*=3.22, *SD*=0.90) compared to monoracial Black adolescents (*M*=2.91, *SD*=0.85;

$F(1, 220) = 3.12$, $p = .079$). Given the lack of differences found for on key study variables by adolescents' racial status, this covariate wass not included in further analyses in this study.

One significant finding emerged for the relation of school district to study variables of interest. Paritcularly, adolescents in District 2 (M=5.53, SD=2.29) reported lower GPAs than students in Districts 1 (M=6.62, SD=2.13) and District 3 (M=6.74, SD=2.22) ($F(2, 296) = 3.93$, $p = .021$).

Table 4.7
Correlations Between Adolescent Outcomes and Covariates

	Grade	Parent Age	Parent Education	Family Income
Well-Being (A)	.038	-.020	.127*	.082
Persistence (A)	-.155**	.074	.069	.092
GPA (A)	-.350***	-.059	.088	.018
Preparation (A)	-.140*	.014	.201***	.132*
Preparation (P)	-.079	-.067	.053	.103†
Persistence (T)	-.149*	-.062	.013	.065
Student Competence (T)	-.133*	-.074	.031	.086

†,p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001. Note: A= adolescent report, P = parent report, T = teacher report.

Parent education and family income were positively related to adolescent's preparation (see Table 4.6). Also, parent education was positively related to adolescent's well-being. As adolescents increased in grade level they perceived themselves as less prepared for academic tasks, less persistent, and reported lower GPAs. Likewise, teachers reported less persistence and less academic competence as student increased in grade level. The direction of these findings were similar to those in the ANOVA conducted to test differences in adolescent outcomes for

middle schoolers versus high schoolers (see Table 4.7). Thus, adolsecent grade was used as a covariate rather than the dichotomous adolscent school level variable.

Overall, adolescent outcomes did not differ by parent gender or age (and they were not expected to), multiracial identification, school district, or family income. Parent gender and adolescent's multiracial identification were also unrelated to PAS messages and parent age demonstrated a small association with parents reporting less shame messages. These preliminary analyses suggest that PAS and outcome variables of interest in the present work do not differ by parent age, parent gender, multiracial identification, school district, or family income. As such, structural equation models examining PAS and adolescent outcomes did not include these covariates.

Table 4.8
Mean Differences in Adolescent Outcomes by School Level

	Middle School		High School		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Well-Being (A)	3.70	0.48	3.74	0.54	
Persistence (A)	3.29	0.59	3.10	0.64	*
GPA (A)	7.13	2.08	5.64	2.06	***
Preparedness (A)	3.65	0.93	3.38	0.87	*
Preparedness (P)	3.73	1.01	3.50	0.96	†
Persistence (T)	3.03	0.81	2.80	0.94	†
Student Competence (T)	3.36	0.89	3.12	0.90	†

†, p<.1; * p<.05; **, p<.01; ***, p<.001. Note: A= adolescent report, P = parent report, T = teacher report.

Concordance Assessment

The first objective of this study was to determine the extent to which parents and adolescents report similar levels of parent academic socialization messages. To address this

research question, I conducted an analysis of concordance between parent- and adolescent-reported PAS messages using latent profile analysis. This research question was addressed in two stages: 1) PAS message concordance profile membership, and 2) examination of how profile membership may differ by study covariates of adolescent gender and grade and parent education.

Latent Profile Analysis of PAS Messages

Latent profile analysis (LPA) was conducted via Latent Gold 4.5 (Vermunt & Magidson, 2008) to examine concordance between parent- and adolescent-reported PAS messages. "The latent profile approach is an extension of the k-means technique because it provides more formal, statistical, criteria for selecting an ideal number of clusters" (Magidson & Vermunt, 2004; as cited in Cooper, Smalls-Glover, Neblett, & Banks, 2015, p. 15). LPA was conducted to examine concordance within each PAS message by entering parent and adolescent reports of the PAS message (e.g., pressure) into the analysis. A variety of fit indices are used to determine the latent profile solution that best fits the data.

Within LPA, the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) are used to determine the best fitting model. LPA fit indices (e.g., BIC, AIC), are interpreted relative to one another between models and solutions with lower AIC and BIC values reflecting better fitting models (Vrieze, 2012). For example, to determine the best fitting solutions from a LPA estimating one to six cluster solution models, the AIC and BIC of the three-cluster solution would be compared to the AIC and BIC of the two- and four-cluster solutions. Entropy scores were also used to assess fit where values closer to 1 are an indication of a better fit. Lastly, the bootstrap likelihood ratio test (BLRT) was used to identify the best fitting model. The BLRT uses bootstrap samples to compare one latent profile solution (k) to its preceding solution (k-1) and to determine if k is the better fitting solution of the two profiles. It is

determined that *k* is a better fitting solution if the BLRT p-value is less than .05 (e.g., 5-cluster solution is a better fit than the 4-cluster solution). If the BLRT p-value is greater than .05, it would suggest that *k*-1 is the better fitting solution (e.g., 2-cluster solution is a better fit than the 3-cluster solution). Thus, these fit indices were used to determine which class solution was most appropriate.

Typically it is expected that fit indices will continue to improve with successive models and at some point values will begin to increase between solutions and the model yielding fit indices of the lowest numerical value and optimal model fit indices as the best fitting solution. However, the current PAS LPA estimating one to six models did not present a point at which model fit stopped improving (see Table 4.8). The BLRT used to determine the best LPA solution relative to the $k - 1$ solution improved with each successive profile. Entropy was close to 1 in value in most models. Therefore, to determine that best fitting solution I chose those in which plots did not have overlapping profiles. The four-cluster LPA solution was chosen for each of the four PAS messages.

Table 4.9

Model Fit Indices for Profile Solutions

Pressure				
Model	**BIC(LL)**	**AIC(LL)**	**Entropy**	**BLRT p-value**
1-Profile	1469.49	1454.88	1.00	.000
2-Profile	1345.56	1312.69	0.99	.000
3-Profile	1275.39	1224.25	0.92	.000
4-Profile	**1140.74**	**1071.35**	**0.95**	**.000**
5-Profile	1159.32	1071.66	0.91	.000
6-Profile	1097.94	992.02	0.90	.000
Effort				
Model	**BIC(LL)**	**AIC(LL)**	**Entropy**	**BLRT p-value**
1-Profile	1612.66	1597.98	1.00	.000
2-Profile	1535.77	1502.74	0.74	.000
3-Profile	1439.39	1388.01	0.73	.000
4-Profile	**1397.55**	**1327.82**	**0.89**	**.000**
5-Profile	1332.27	1244.20	0.91	.000
6-Profile	1150.14	1043.72	0.89	.000
Balance				
Model	**BIC(LL)**	**AIC(LL)**	**Entropy**	**BLRT p-value**
1-Profile	1422.63	1408.05	1.00	.000
2-Profile	1339.56	1306.75	0.96	.000
3-Profile	1223.70	1172.66	0.97	.000
4-Profile	**1173.77**	**1104.50**	**0.88**	**.000**
5-Profile	1141.10	1053.61	0.85	.000
6-Profile	1131.16	1025.44	0.91	.000
Shame				
Model	**BIC(LL)**	**AIC(LL)**	**Entropy**	**BLRT p-value**
1-Profile	1677.19	1662.52	1.00	.000
2-Profile	1390.42	1357.43	0.91	.000
3-Profile	1260.27	1208.94	0.83	.000
4-Profile	**1185.02**	**1115.36**	**0.91**	**.000**
5-Profile	682.50	594.51	0.97	.000
6-Profile	658.68	552.35	1.00	.000

Profile Description. Below I present each PAS message profile. It was determined that profiles differing by less than a half *SD* between parent and adolescent reports were concordant (=). Profiles differing by more than half a *SD* but less than a full *SD* were moderately discrepant (<, >). Those differing by a *SD* or more were deemed severe discrepant (<<, >>). All four of the PAS message profile solutions yielded four cluster solutions where profiles differed in message frequency (i.e., mean-level reporting), and the direction and magnitude of parent-adolescent discrepancies.

Pressure.

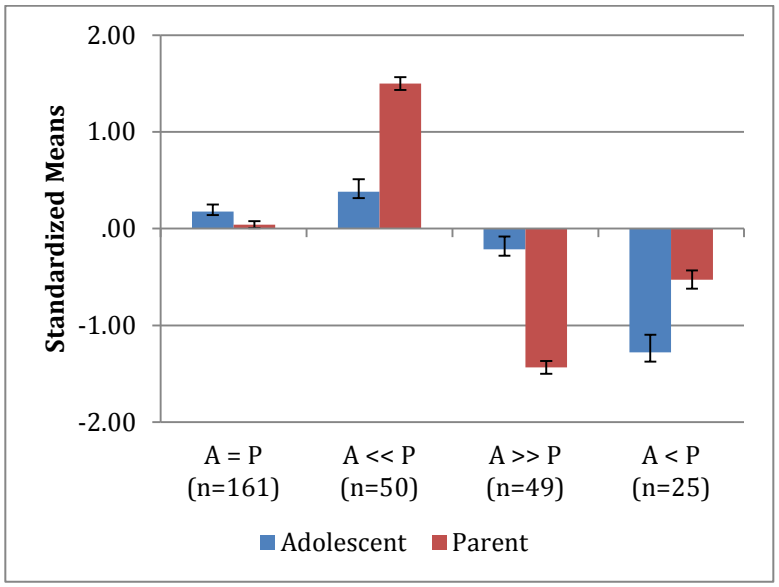


Figure 4. 2 Standardized Means of Pressure Concordance Profiles

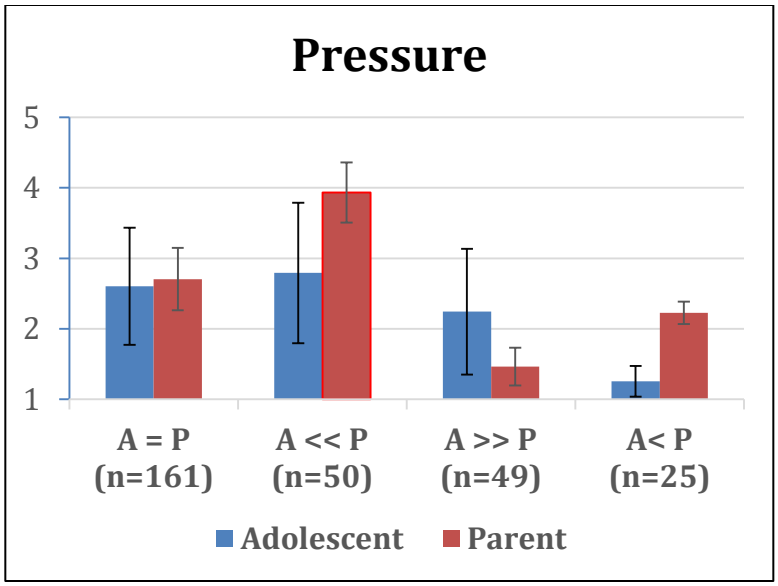


Figure 4. 3 Raw Means of Pressure Concordance Profiles

Of the four PAS pressure profiles identified one profile represented concordance of average pressure (A=P; *n*=161, 56 % of sample), another represented moderate discrepancies (A<P; *n*=25, 9%) where adolescents reported less pressure than parents and both reports were below average pressure, and two represented above and below average pressure and a higher degree of discrepancies. In the latter two profiles parents either reported much more (A<<P; *n*=50, 18%) or much less pressure than their adolescent (A>>P, *n*=49, 17 %).

Effort.

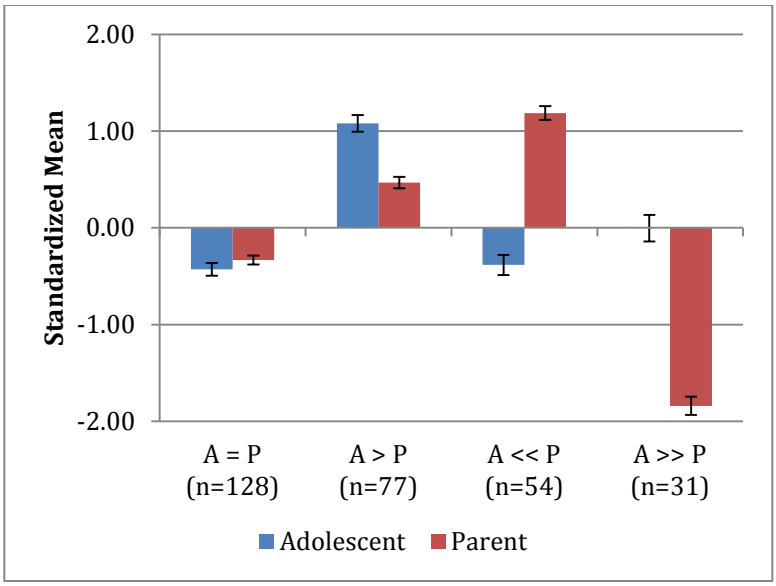


Figure 4. 4 Standardized Means of Effort Concordance Profiles

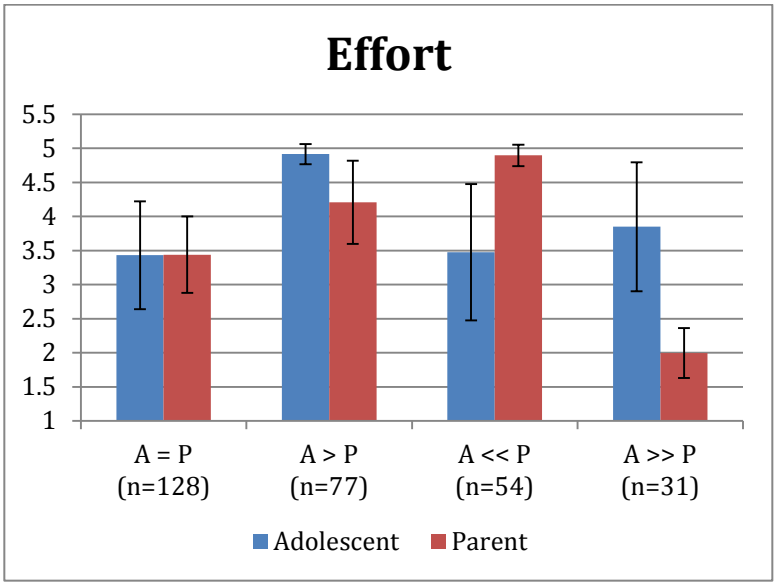


Figure 4. 5 Raw Means of Effort Concordance Profiles

Of the four effort concordance profiles one profile represented concordance of average effort messages (A=P; *n*=128, 44% of sample), another represented moderate discrepancies (A<P; *n*=77, 27%) where adolescents reported more effort than parents and both reports were above average effort, and two representing above and below average pressure and a higher

degree of discrepancy. In the latter two profiles parents either reported much more (A<<P; *n*=54, 19%) or much less effort than their adolescent (A>>P, *n*=31, 11%).

Balance.

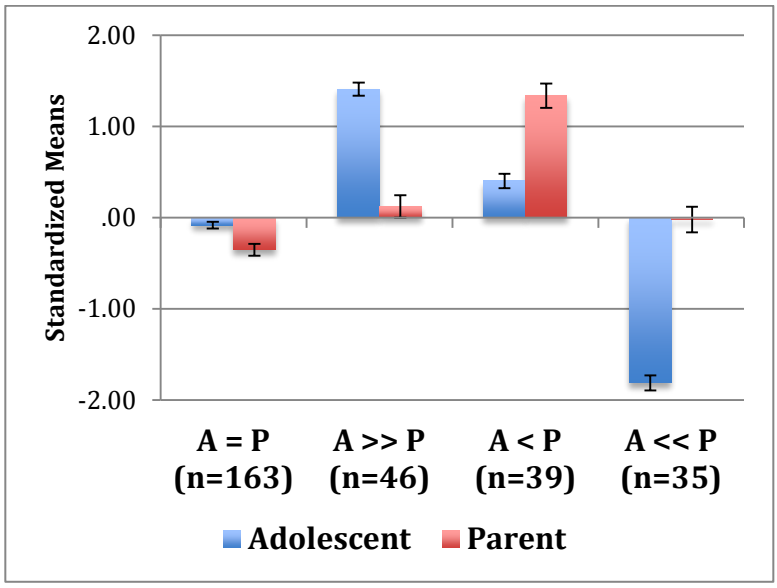


Figure 4. 6 Standardized Means of Balance Concordance Profiles

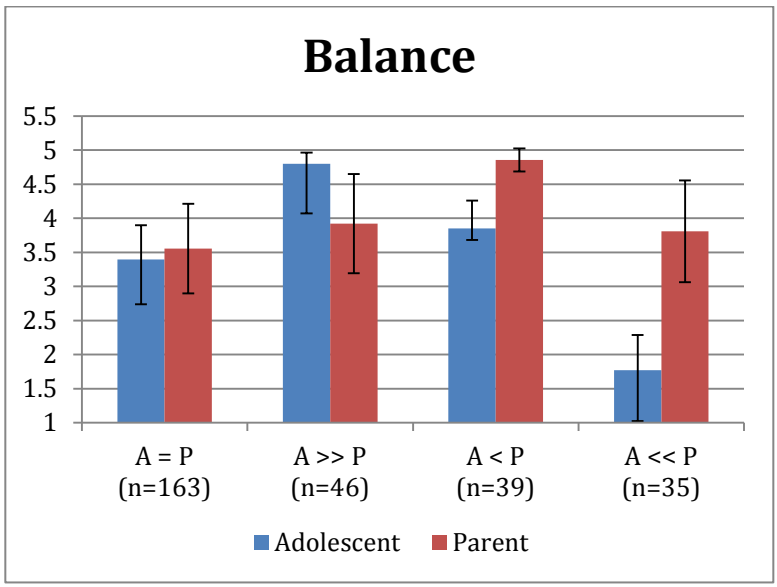


Figure 4. 7 Raw Means of Balance Concordance Profiles

Of the four identified balance concordance profiles one profile represented of concordance of average balance (A=P; *n*=163, 58 % of sample), another represented moderate

discrepancies (A<P; *n*=39, 14%) where parents reported more balance than adolescents and both reports were above average balance, and two representing above and below average balance and a higher degree of discrepancy. In the latter two profiles adolescents either reported much more (A>>P; *n*=46, 16%) or much less balance than their parent (A<<P; *n*=35, 12 %).

Shame.

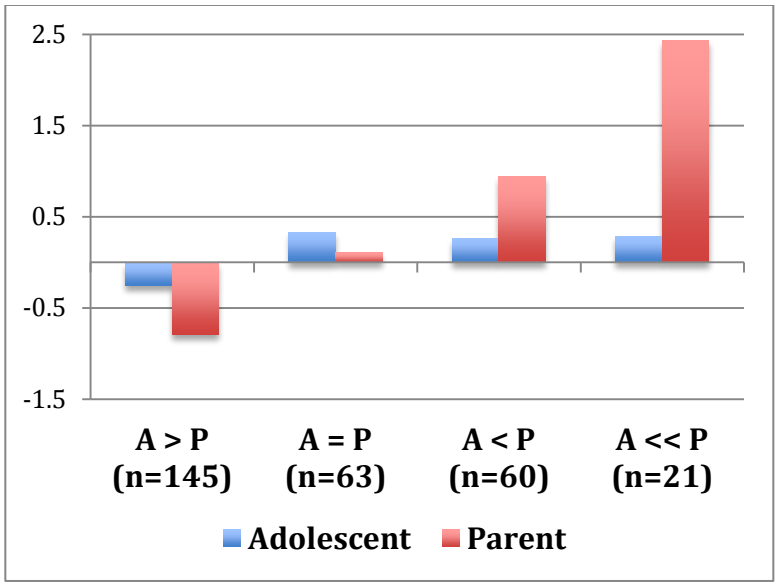


Figure 4. 8 Standardized Means of Shame Concordance Profiles

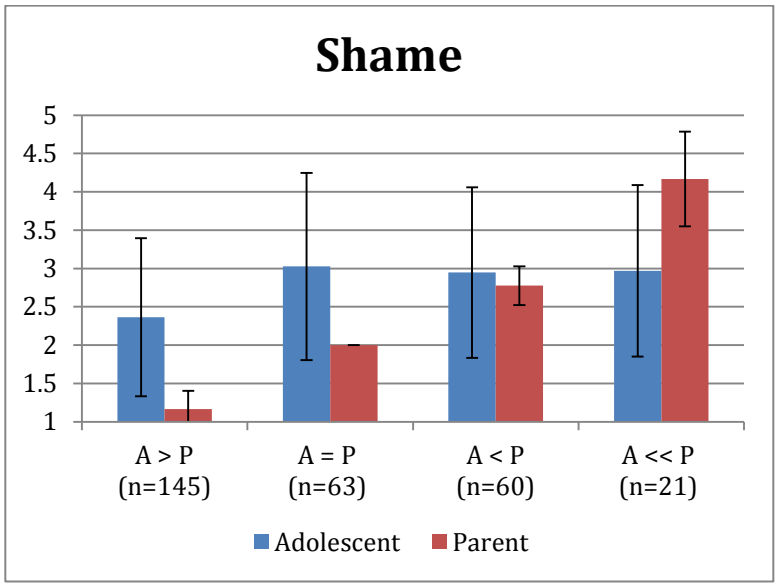


Figure 4. 9 Raw Means of Shame Concordance Profiles

Of the four shame concordance profiles identified one profile represented concordance of average shame (A=P; *n*=63, 22 % of sample), a profile representing severe discrepancies (A<<P; *n*=21, 7%) where parents reported much more shame messages than adolescents, and two represented above and below average shame by both reporters and moderate discrepancies. In the latter two profiles adolescents either reported much more (A>>P; *n*=46, 16%) or much less balance than their parent (A<<P; *n*=35, 12 %).

Profile Membership Differences by Covariates

Each PAS message profile was then examined in relation to adolescent gender and grade, and parent education to determine how PAS profiles may differ by these covariates. A one-way ANOVA was run by PAS message profile. PAS message profiles did not differ by any demographic characteristics; male and female adolescents were equally as likely to be in each concordance profile for all PAS messages, as well as students of all grades, and parents at varying education levels.

PAS Concordance and Adolescent Outcomes

I conducted a MANCOVA via SPSS with the general linear model (GLM) command to examine the ways in which concordance/discordance in PAS messages may be linked to adolescent outcomes. Controlling for the effect of study covariates (i.e., adolescent gender and grade, and parent education) on z-scored adolescent outcomes, a general linear model with marginal means estimation was conducted to examine whether study outcomes differed for profiles; separate GLMs were conducted for z-scored outcomes reported by adolescents, parents, and teachers for each PAS message profile. Below results are presented for each PAS message.

Pressure

Outcomes of adolescent GPA ($F(6, 276) = 8.69$, $p = .000$), adolescent- ($F(6, 276) = 3.96$, $p = .001$) and parent-reported of preparation for academic tasks ($F(6, 283) = 5.75$, $p = .000$), teacher reported persistence ($F(6, 206) = 2.83$, $p = .012$), and teacher reported academic competence ($F(6, 206) = 4.60$, $p = .000$) differed by pressure concordance profile membership. Adolescent well-being ($F(6, 276) = 1.30$, $p = .259$) and persistence ($F(6, 276) = 1.78$, $p = .104$) did not differ across the pressure concordance profiles.

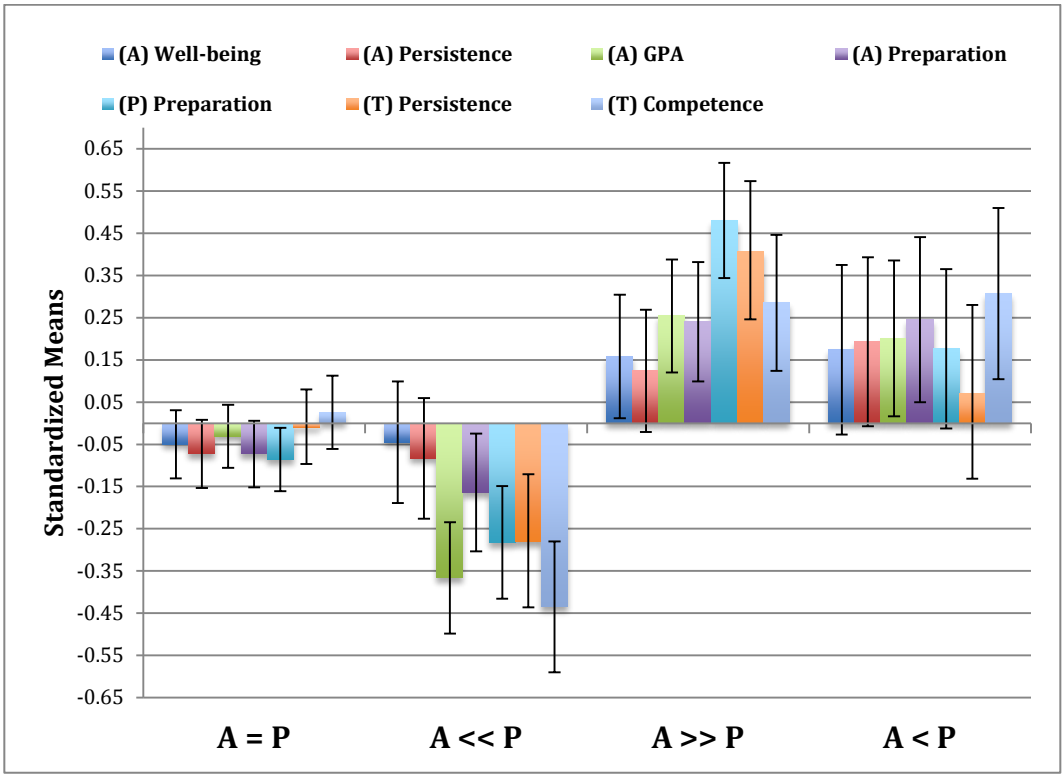


Figure 4. 10 Adolescent Outcomes by Pressure Concordance Profiles

All PAS pressure concordance group differences presented below are the results of pairwise comparisons via the GLM used to conduct the MANCOVA and were statistically significant. A<<P pressure adolescents reported lower GPA compared to all pressure profiles, A>>P adolescents reported feeling more prepared for academic tasks than A<<P, A<<P parents

reported their adolescent to be less prepared than A>>P and A<P parents and A>>P parents viewed their adolescents as more prepared than A=P and A<<P parents, teachers viewed A>>P adolescents as more persistent compared to A=P and A<<P adolescents, teachers viewed A<<P adolescents as less competent than adolescents of all other profiles. Outcomes of adolescent well-being and persistence did not differ between pressure profiles.

Effort

Adolescents' outcomes of persistence ($F(6, 280) = 2.99$, $p = .008$), GPA ($F(6, 280) = 9.06$, $p = .000$), adolescent- ($F(6, 280) = 3.08$, $p = .006$) and parent-reported preparation ($F(6, 288) = 5.30$, $p = .000$), teacher reported persistence ($F(6, 208) = 2.96$, $p = .009$), and teacher reported academic competence ($F(6, 208) = 4.33$, $p = .000$) differed by effort concordance profiles. Adolescent well-being did not differ by effort concordance profiles.

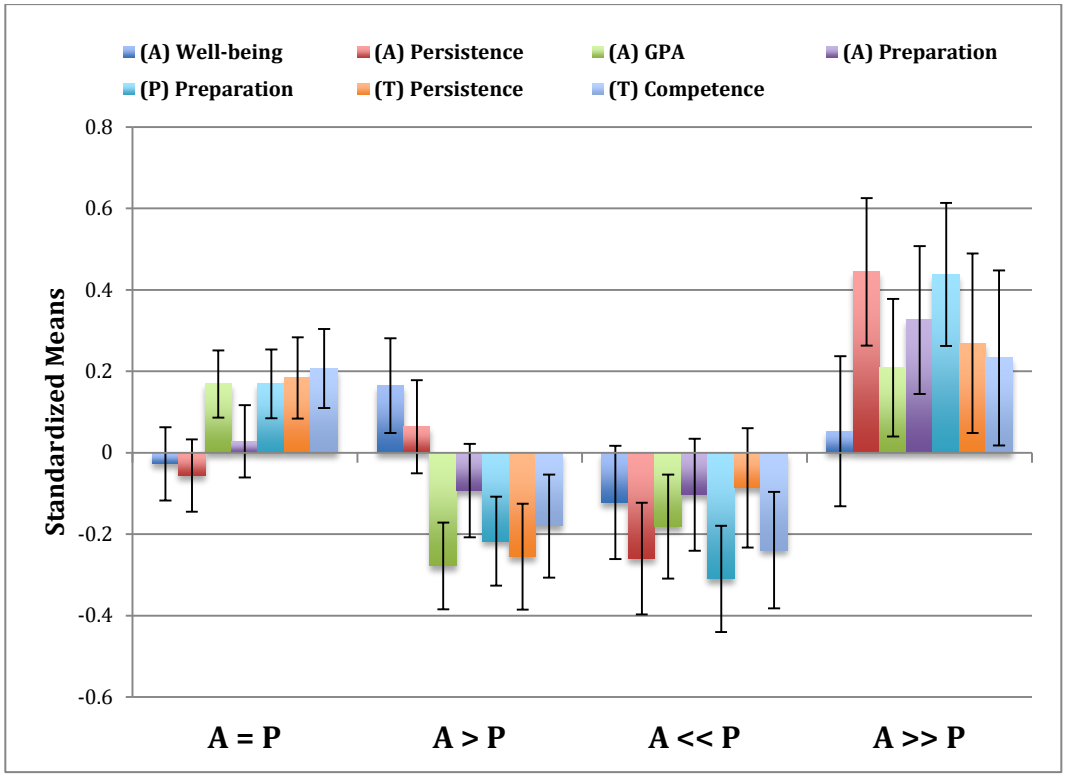


Figure 4. 11 Adolescent Outcomes By Effort Concordance Profiles

All PAS effort concordance group differences presented below are the results of pairwise comparisons via the GLM used to conduct the MANCOVA and were statistically significant. A>>P effort adolescents reported more persistence than A=P and A<<P adolescents. A=P adolescents reported higher GPA than A>P and A<<P adolescents and A>P adolescents reported lower GPA than A>>P adolescents. A=P and A>>P parents viewed their adolescents as more prepared than A>P and A<<P parents. Teachers viewed A>P adolescents as less persistent than A=P and A>>P adolescents. Teachers reported A=P and A>>P adolescents as more competent than A>P and A<<P adolescents.

Balance

All study outcomes of interest differed by balance concordance profiles: adolescent well-being ($F(6, 273) = 6.17$, $p = .000$), adolescent persistence ($F(6, 273) = 2.67$, $p = .016$), GPA ($F(6, 273) = 5.84$, $p = .000$), adolescent- ($F(6, 273) = 3.69$, $p = .002$) and parent-reported preparation ($F(6, 281) = 3.42$, $p = .003$), teacher reported persistence ($F(6, 203) = 2.58$, $p = .020$), and teacher reported academic competence ($F(6, 203) = 3.05$, $p = .007$).

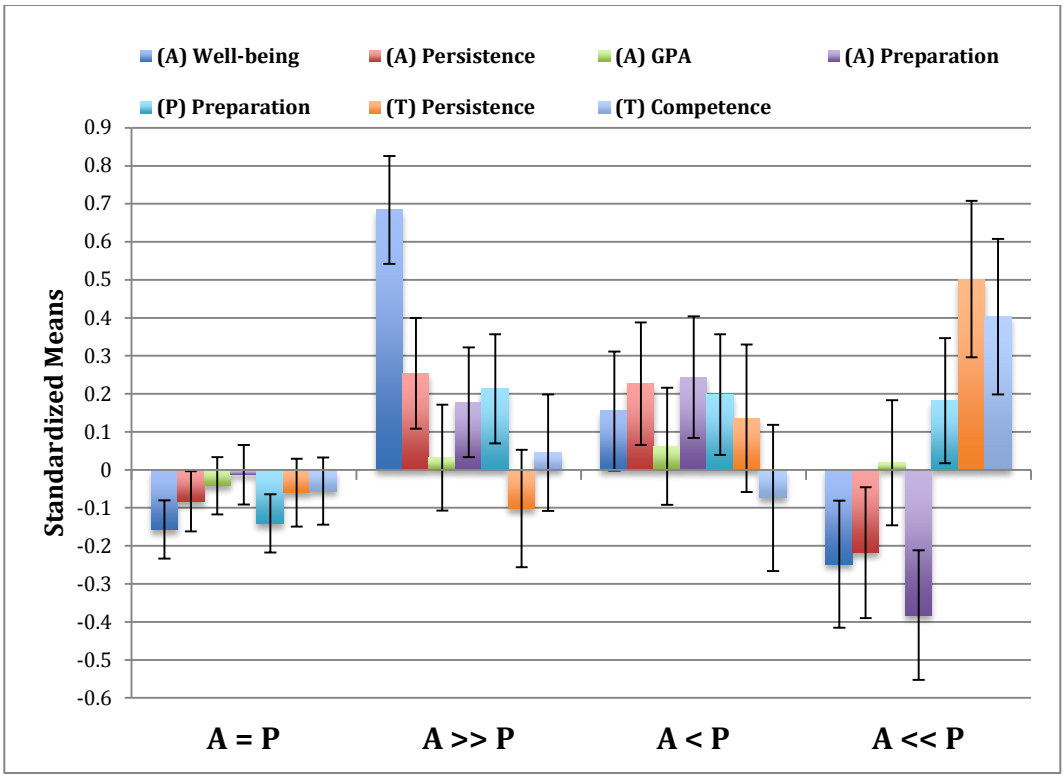


Figure 4. 12 Adolescent Outcomes By Balance Concordance Profiles

All PAS balance concordance group differences presented below are the results of pairwise comparisons via the GLM used to conduct the MANCOVA and were statistically significant. A>>P adolescents reported the highest level of well-being among all balance profiles, A>>P adolescents were more persistent than A=P and A<<P adolescents, A<<P adolescents reported less preparation than all other balance profiles, A>>P parents viewed their adolescents as more prepared than A=P parents, teachers viewed A<<P adolescents as more persistent than A=P adolescents, and A>>P and more competent than A=P adolescents.

Shame

Adolescent outcomes of persistence ($F(6, 279) = 2.76$, $p = .013$), GPA ($F(6, 279) = 9.13$, $p = .000$), adolescent- ($F(6, 279) = 2.87$, $p = .010$) and parent-reported preparation ($F(6, 287) = 4.37$, $p = .000$), teacher-reported persistence ($F(6, 207) = 2.85$, $p = .011$), and teacher-reported

academic competence ($F(6, 207) = 4.38$, $p = .000$) differed by shame concordance profiles. Adolescent well-being did not differ across shame concordance profiles.

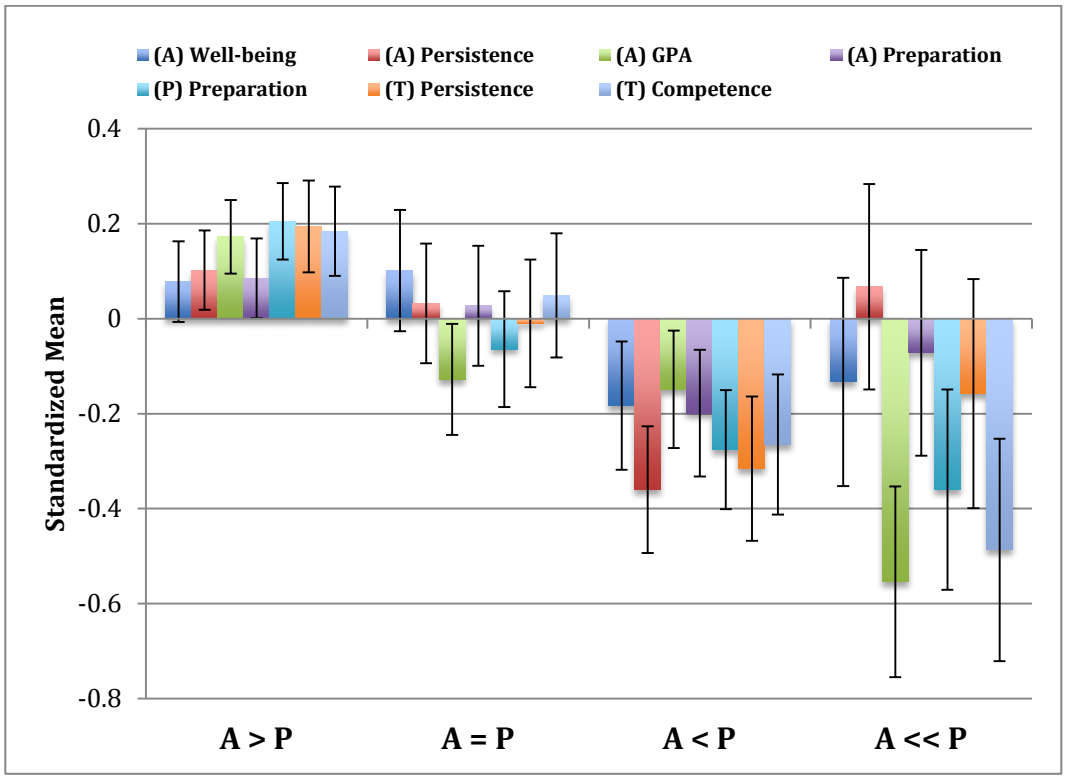


Figure 4. 13 Adolescent Outcomes By Shame Concordance Profiles

All PAS shame concordance group differences presented below are the results of pairwise comparisons via the GLM used to conduct the MANCOVA and were statistically significant. A<P adolescents reported less persistence than A>P and A=P adolescents. A>P adolescents reported higher GPA than adolescents of all other shame concordance profiles and A<<P adolescents reported lower GPA than adolescents of all other profiles. A>P parents reported their adolescents as more prepared than A<P and A<<P parents. Teachers reported A>P adolescents to be more persistent than A<P adolescents. A>P adolescents were viewed as more

competent by teachers than A<P and A<<P adolescents and A=P adolescents were viewed as more competent by teachers than A<<P adolescents.

Multiple Informant Analysis

Structural equation models estimating latent PAS variables were run to assess the impact of both parent- and adolescent-reported PAS messages on adolescent outcomes and to test the theory suggesting parents' PAS has a direct and indirect influence on adolescent outcomes via adolescent perceptions of PAS. Models of parent and adolescent PAS predicted observed adolescent outcomes of well-being, and academic engagement, motivation, and performance while controlling for the effects of adolescent gender and grade and parent education. Moving from the measurement model established in the preliminary analyses, the models used to address direct and indirect PAS effects were built by first establishing adequate fit in the estimation of direct pathways between PAS and outcomes, then adding covariates, and finally adding estimation of indirect pathways between parent-reported PAS and adolescent outcomes via adolescent-reported PAS.

Final models demonstrated good fit (see Figures 4.14 to 4.17). Four models were conducted, one for each PAS message to avoid issues of multicolinearity between PAS messages within reporter. Figures illustrate standardized estimates with their standard errors beside them in parentheses followed by significance level. Factor loadings, error variances, covariate effects, and correlations have been excluded from these figures for ease of presentation. See Figure 4.1 for estimation of factor loadings and error variances of PAS measurement and refer to Table 4.5 for correlations among outcome variables. See Table 4.9 for excluded covariate effects within these models.

Table 4.10

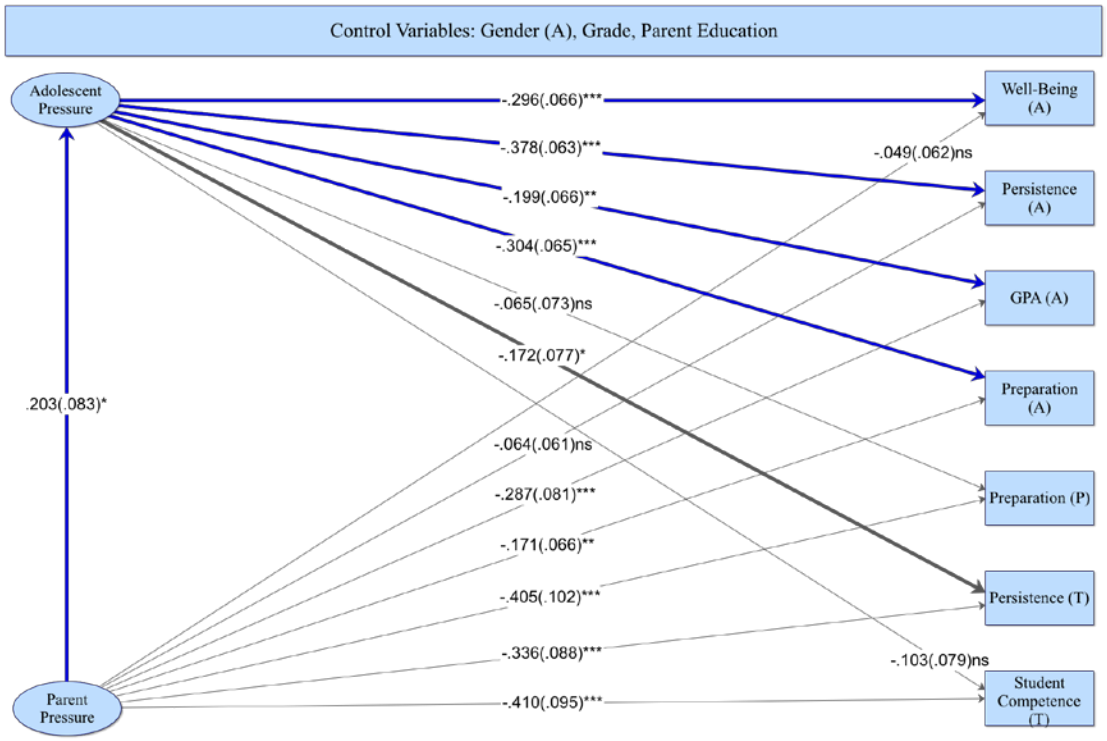
Covariate Effects in PAS Mediation Structural Equation Models

	Pressure			Effort			Balance			Shame		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β	*b*	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Grade —> Adolescent PAS	.04	.03	.09	.11*	.05	.15	.02	.04	.03	.02	.05	.03
Gender —> Adolescent PAS	-.11	.09	-.09	-.09	.13	-.05	-.03	.10	-.02	-.37**	.13	-.18
Parent Education —> Adolescent PAS	-.02	.02	-.06	.08*	.04	.14	.01	.03	.02	-.00	.04	-.01
Grade —> Parent PAS	.03	.02	.13	-.09†	.05	-.13	-.02	.05	-.03	-.01	.03	-.02
Gender —> Parent PAS	-.06	.05	-.11	-.20	.13	-.11	.06	.13	.04	-.10	.08	-.09
Parent Education —> Parent PAS	-.00	.01	-.01	-.05	.04	-.10	-.00	.04	-.01	.03	.02	.09
Grade —> Well-Being (A)	.03	.02	.08	.00	.02	.01	.01	.02	.03	.01	.02	.04
Gender —> Well-Being (A)	-.02	.06	-.02	.03	.06	.03	.02	.06	.02	-.01	.06	-.01
Parent Education —> Well-Being (A)	.03*	.02	.11	.03†	.02	.10	.04*	.02	.12	.04*	.02	.14
Grade —> Persistence (A)	-.05†	.03	-.11	-.10***	.03	-.22	-.08**	.03	-.18	-.07**	.03	-.16
Gender —> Persistence (A)	.04	.07	.03	.09	.07	.07	.11	.07	.09	.03	.07	.03
Parent Education —> Persistence (A)	.02	.02	.06	.01	.02	.03	.03	.02	.07	.03	.02	.09
Grade —> GPA (A)	-.47***	.09	-.29	-.58***	.09	-.36	-.57***	.09	-.35	-.58***	.09	-.36
Gender —> GPA (A)	-.25	.23	-.06	-.11	.24	-.03	-.01	.24	-.00	-.17	.24	-.04
Parent Education —> GPA (A)	.08	.06	.07	.10	.07	.08	.10	.07	.08	.13†	.07	.10
Grade —> Preparation (A)	-.05	.04	-.08	-.11**	.04	-.17	-.10**	.04	-.15	-.09*	.04	-.14
Gender —> Preparation (A)	-.12	.10	-.07	-.04	.10	-.02	-.01	.10	.00	-.09	.11	-.05
Parent Education —> Preparation (A)	.09**	.03	.17	.09**	.03	.17	.10**	.03	.19	.11***	.03	.21
Grade —> Preparation (P)	-.04	.04	-.06	-.11**	.04	-.15	-.09*	.04	-.12	-.09*	.04	-.21
Gender —> Preparation (P)	.27*	.11	.13	.30**	.11	.15	.37**	.12	.18	.32**	.12	.16
Parent Education —>Preparation (P)	.04	.03	.07	.03	.03	.05	.04	.03	.08	.06†	.03	.10
Grade —> Persistence (T)	-.05	.04	-.08	-.10*	.04	-.15	-.09*	.04	-.15	-.10*	.04	-.15
Gender —> Persistence (T)	.22*	.11	.13	.29*	.11	.16	.32**	.11	.18	.27*	.11	.16
Parent Education —> Persistence (T)	.03	.03	.06	.03	.03	.07	.03	.03	.07	.04	.03	.08
Grade —> Competence (T)	-.05	.04	-.07	-.10*	.04	-.15	-.09*	.04	-.14	-.10*	.04	-.15
Gender —> Competence (T)	.30**	.11	.17	.37**	.11	.21	.41***	.12	.23	.36**	.16	.20
Parent Education —> Competence (T)	.05	.03	.09	.05	.03	.09	.05	.03	.09	.06†	.03	.11

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Pressure

Direct effects. Both adolescent- and parent-reported pressure were directly and negatively related to all adolescent outcomes with some exceptions. Adolescent pressure did not predict parent reports of preparation (there were no instances in which adolescent PAS predicted parent reports of preparation) or teacher reports of student competence. Also, parent report of pressure was unrelated to adolescent well-being and unrelated to adolescent-reported persistence. Parent pressure had a direct effect on adolescent pressure.



N=308; Chi Sq = 89.289, df = 61, p = .011; RMSEA = .039, 90% CI = .019-.055; CFI = .969; SRMR = .037

Figure 4. 14 Direct and Indirect Effects of Pressure on Adolescent Outcomes

Note: Standardized estimates are presented with standard errors in parenthesis. Bold blue arrows note significant indirect pathways; bold black arrows denote marginally significant indirect pathways.
†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Adolescent pressure mediated the relationship between parent pressure and all adolescent-reported outcomes. Also, a marginally significant mediation finding emerged between parent pressure and teacher persistence.

Effort

Direct effects. Adolescent reports of effort socialization had a positive effect on adolescent-reported well-being and persistence. However, adolescent effort messages had a negative effect on GPA and teacher-reported persistence and student competence. Parent effort negatively related to all adolescent outcomes with some exceptions. There was no effect of parent-reported effort messages on adolescent well-being, GPA, or teacher-reported persistence. Parent effort messages had a direct effect on adolescent effort messages.

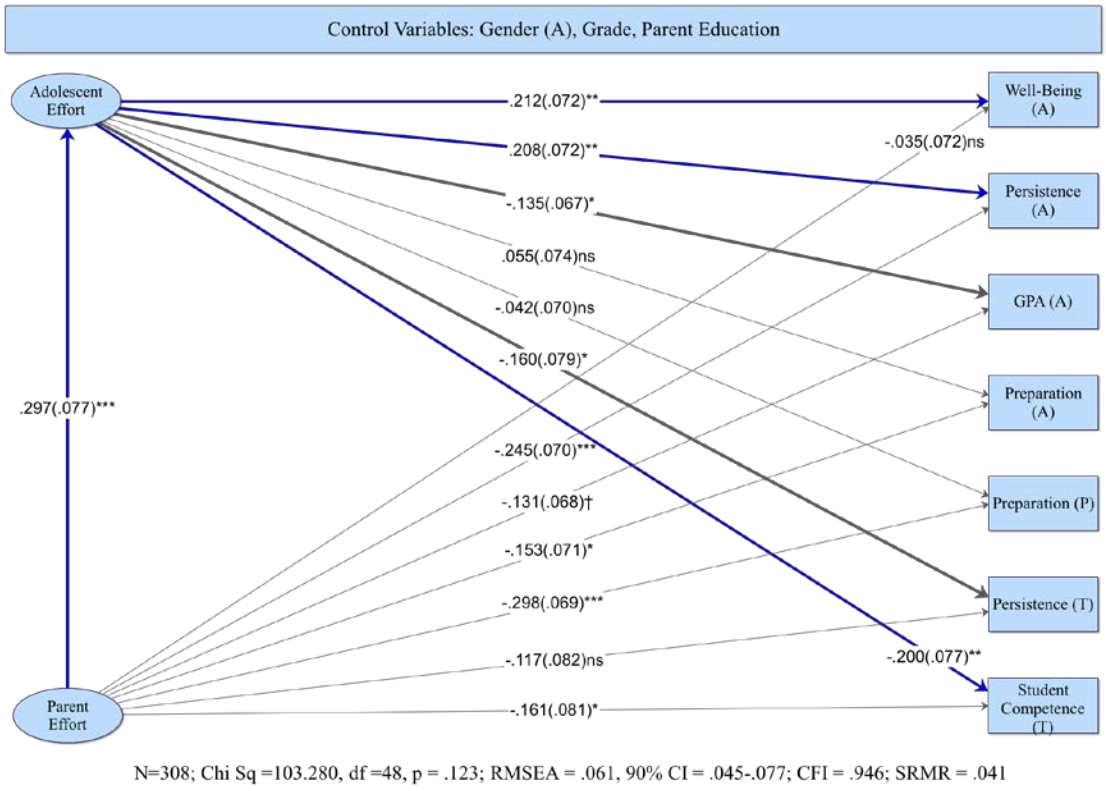


Figure 4. 15 Direct and Indirect Effects of Effort on Adolescent Outcomes

Note: Standardized estimates are presented with standard errors in parenthesis. Bold blue arrows note significant indirect pathways; bold black arrows denote marginally significant indirect pathways.
†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Adolescent reports of effort messages were the mechanism by which parent reports of effort messages related to adolescent well-being, persistence, and student competence (see Table 4.12).

Balance

Direct effects. Adolescent-reported balance messages were positively associated with adolescent-reported outcomes of well-being, persistence, and preparation. However, adolescent balance messages were negatively related to teacher reports of adolescent persistence and student competence. Adolescent balance messages were unrelated to GPA and parent reports of adolescent preparation. Parent balance messages were not related to any adolescent outcomes. Parent balance messages had no direct effect on adolescent balance messages.

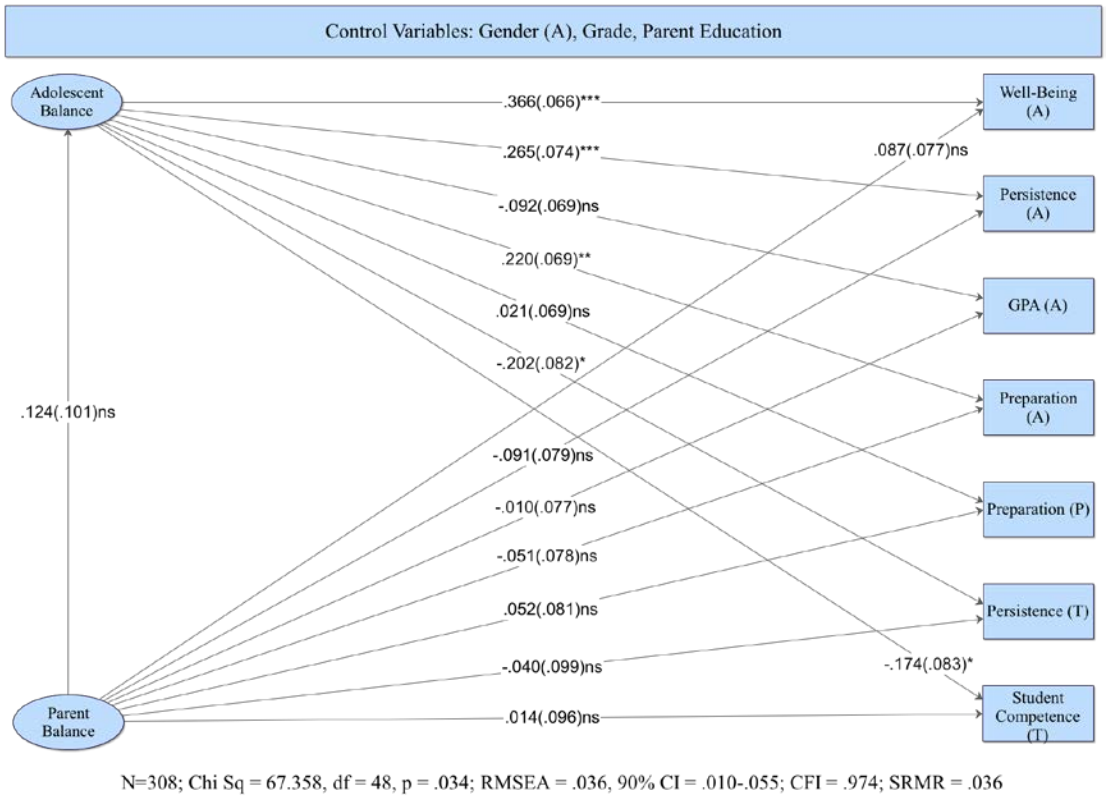


Figure 4. 16 Direct and Indirect Effects of Balance on Adolescent Outcomes

Note: Standardized estimates are presented with standard errors in parenthesis. Bold blue arrows note significant indirect pathways; bold black arrows denote marginally significant indirect pathways.

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Parent balance messages did not predict adolescent balance messages and, thus, there are no indirect effects of parent balance messages on adolescent outcomes.

Table 4.11

Direct Effects of PAS on Adolescent Outcomes

	Adolescent Pressure			Parent Pressure		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-0.24***	.07	-.30	-0.09	.11	-.05
Persistence (A)	-0.38***	.09	-.38	-0.14	.13	-.06
GPA (A)	-0.71**	.26	-.20	-2.21**	.67	-.29
Preparation (A)	-0.45***	.11	-.30	-0.55*	.23	-.17
Preparation (P)	-0.11	.12	-.07	-1.42***	.39	-.41
Persistence (T)	-0.24*	.12	-.17	-1.01**	.31	-.34
Student Competence (T)	-0.15	.12	-.10	-1.29***	.36	-.41
	Adolescent Effort			Parent Effort		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	0.11**	.04	.21	-0.02	.04	-.04
Persistence (A)	0.13**	.05	.21	-0.16**	.05	-.25
GPA (A)	-0.31*	.15	-.14	-0.31†	.16	-.13
Preparation (A)	0.05	.07	.06	-0.15*	.07	-.15
Preparation (P)	-0.04	.07	-.04	-0.32***	.08	-.30
Persistence (T)	-0.14*	.07	-.16	-0.11	.08	-.12
Student Competence (T)	-0.19*	.07	-.20	-0.16†	.08	-.16
	Adolescent Balance			Parent Balance		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	0.28***	.07	.37	0.06	.05	.09
Persistence (A)	0.25**	.09	.27	-0.07	.07	-.09
GPA (A)	-0.31	.24	-.09	-0.03	.22	-.01
Preparation (A)	0.31**	.11	.22	-0.06	.09	-.05
Preparation (P)	0.03	.11	.02	0.07	.11	.05
Persistence (T)	-0.27*	.11	-.20	-0.05	.11	-.04
Student Competence (T)	-0.24*	.12	-.17	-0.02	.11	-.01
	Adolescent Shame			Parent Shame		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-0.05	.04	-.11	-0.10	.07	-.10
Persistence (A)	-0.13**	.04	-.23	-0.12	.08	-.10
GPA (A)	-0.24†	.15	-.11	-0.79**	.29	-.19
Preparation (A)	-0.13*	.06	-.15	-0.21†	.12	-.12
Preparation (P)	-0.01	.07	-.01	-0.49**	.14	-.26
Persistence (T)	-0.06	.07	-.08	-0.33*	.13	-.20
Student Competence (T)	-0.05	.07	-.06	-0.41**	.14	-.24

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Shame

Direct effects. Adolescent reports of shame messages were negatively related to adolescent reports of persistence and preparation. Parent reports of shame messages were negatively related to GPA, parent reports of adolescent preparation and teacher reports of persistence and student competence. Parent shame had a direct effect on adolescent shame.

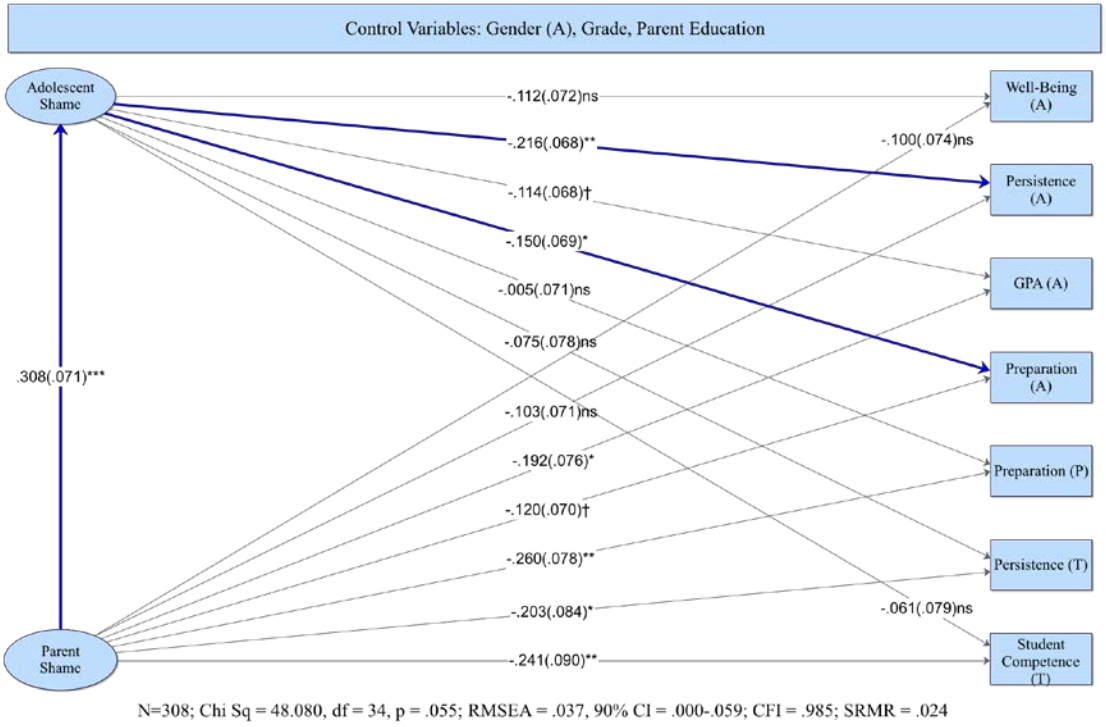


Figure 4. 17 Direct and Indirect Effects of Shame on Adolescent Outcomes

Note: Standardized estimates are presented with standard errors in parenthesis. Bold blue arrows note significant indirect pathways; bold black arrows denote marginally significant indirect pathways.

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Parent shame messages predicted adolescent shame massages. Adolescent shame messages mediated the relation between parent shame and adolescent reports of persistence and preparation.

Table 4.12

Indirect Effects of Parent PAS on Adolescent Outcomes

	Pressure		
Parent PAS —> Adolescent PAS —>	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.11*	.05	-.06
Persistence (A)	-.16*	.08	-.08
GPA (A)	-.31†	.17	-.04
Preparation (A)	-.20*	.10	-.06
Preparation (P)	-.05	.05	-.01
Persistence (T)	-.11†	.06	-.04
Student Competence (T)	-.07	.06	-.02
	Effort		
	b	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	.03*	.02	.06
Persistence (A)	.04*	.02	.06
GPA (A)	-.09†	.05	-.04
Preparation (A)	.02	.02	.02
Preparation (P)	-.01	.02	-.01
Persistence (T)	-.04†	.03	-.05
Student Competence (T)	-.06*	.03	-.06
	Balance		
	b	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	.03	.03	.05
Persistence (A)	.03	.02	.03
GPA (A)	-.03	.04	-.01
Preparation (A)	.03	.03	.03
Preparation (P)	.00	.01	.00
Persistence (T)	-.03	.03	-.03
Student Competence (T)	-.03	.03	-.02
	Shame		
	b	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.03	.02	-.03
Persistence (A)	-.08*	.03	-.07
GPA (A)	-.14	.10	-.04
Preparation (A)	-.08†	.04	-.05
Preparation (P)	-.00	.04	-.00
Persistence (T)	-.04	.04	-.02
Student Competence (T)	-.03	.04	-.02

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Differential Socialization

Building upon the PAS indirect effects models presented in the multiple informant analysis section, multi-group structural equation models estimating latent PAS variables and relations with adolescent outcomes were conducted to see if these relations differed for males and females. Models controlled for the effects of adolescent grade and parent education. Moving from the estimation of indirect pathways between parent PAS and adolescent outcomes via adolescent PAS, multi-group SEMs were conducted for each PAS message.

Multi-group models demonstrated adequate fit (see Figures 4.18 to 4.21) and thus, I proceeded with the interpretation of these models by gender. Four models were conducted, one for each PAS message to avoid issues of multicolinearity between PAS messages within reporter. Figures illustrate standardized estimates followed by significance level of males on the left and females on the right. Factor loadings, error variances, covariate effects, and correlations have been excluded from these figures for ease of presentation. See Table 4.6 for correlations among outcome variables. See Table 4.12 for excluded covariate effects within these models.

Table 4.13

Covariate Effects in PAS Mediation Multi-group Structural Equation Models

	Pressure					
	Male			Female		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Grade —> Adolescent PAS	.04	.06	.07	.04	.04	.10
Parent Education —> Adolescent PAS	-.03	.04	-.07	-.02	.03	-.06
Grade —> Parent PAS	.03	.03	.12	.03	.02	.13
Parent Education —> Parent PAS	.02	.02	.11	-.02	.02	-.10
Grade —> Well-Being (A)	.04	.03	.11	.02	.03	.05
Parent Education —> Well-Being (A)	.04	.03	.12	.02	.02	.09
Grade —> Persistence (A)	-.04	.04	-.09	-.06†	.03	-.13
Parent Education —> Persistence (A)	.01	.03	.02	.02	.03	.07
Grade —> GPA (A)	-.62***	.12	-.39	-.36**	.12	-.22
Parent Education —> GPA (A)	-.03	.09	-.02	.19*	.09	.15
Grade —> Preparation (A)	-.07	.06	-.09	-.05	.05	-.07
Parent Education —> Preparation (A)	.11*	.05	.20	.06†	.04	.13
Grade —> Preparation (P)	-.09	.07	-.11	-.01	.05	-.02
Parent Education —>Preparation (P)	.60	.05	.09	.05	.04	.09
Grade —> Persistence (T)	-.05	.06	-.08	-.05	.05	-.08
Parent Education —> Persistence (T)	.02	.05	.04	.03	.04	.07
Grade —> Competence (T)	-.04	.06	-.05	-.05	.05	-.08
Parent Education —> Competence (T)	.03	.05	.06	.05	.04	.10
	Effort					
	Male			Female		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Grade —> Adolescent PAS	.11	.07	.15	.08	.07	.12
Parent Education —> Adolescent PAS	.15**	.06	.25	.02	.05	.04
Grade —> Parent PAS	.01	.07	.02	-.17**	.06	-.24
Parent Education —> Parent PAS	-.04	.05	-.08	-.07	.05	-.13
Grade —> Well-Being (A)	.01	.03	.03	-.01	.03	-.03
Parent Education —> Well-Being (A)	.02	.03	.06	.03	.02	.11
Grade —> Persistence (A)	-.09*	.04	-.17	-.11**	.03	-.26
Parent Education —> Persistence (A)	-.02	.03	-.05	.03	.03	.08
Grade —> GPA (A)	-.72***	.12	-.44	-.51***	.13	-.31
Parent Education —> GPA (A)	-.02	.10	-.02	.21*	.10	.16
Grade —> Preparation (A)	-.12†	.06	-.16	-.13**	.05	-.21
Parent Education —> Preparation (A)	.09†	.05	.17	.07†	.04	.15
Grade —> Preparation (P)	-.15*	.07	-.18	-.08	.05	-.12
Parent Education —>Preparation (P)	-.02	.06	-.03	.05	.04	.11
Grade —> Persistence (T)	-.08	.07	-.11	-.11*	.05	-.19
Parent Education —> Persistence (T)	.01	.05	.02	.05	.04	.10
Grade —> Competence (T)	-.05	.06	-.08	-.13*	.06	-.21
Parent Education —> Competence (T)	.02	.05	.05	.06	.04	.13

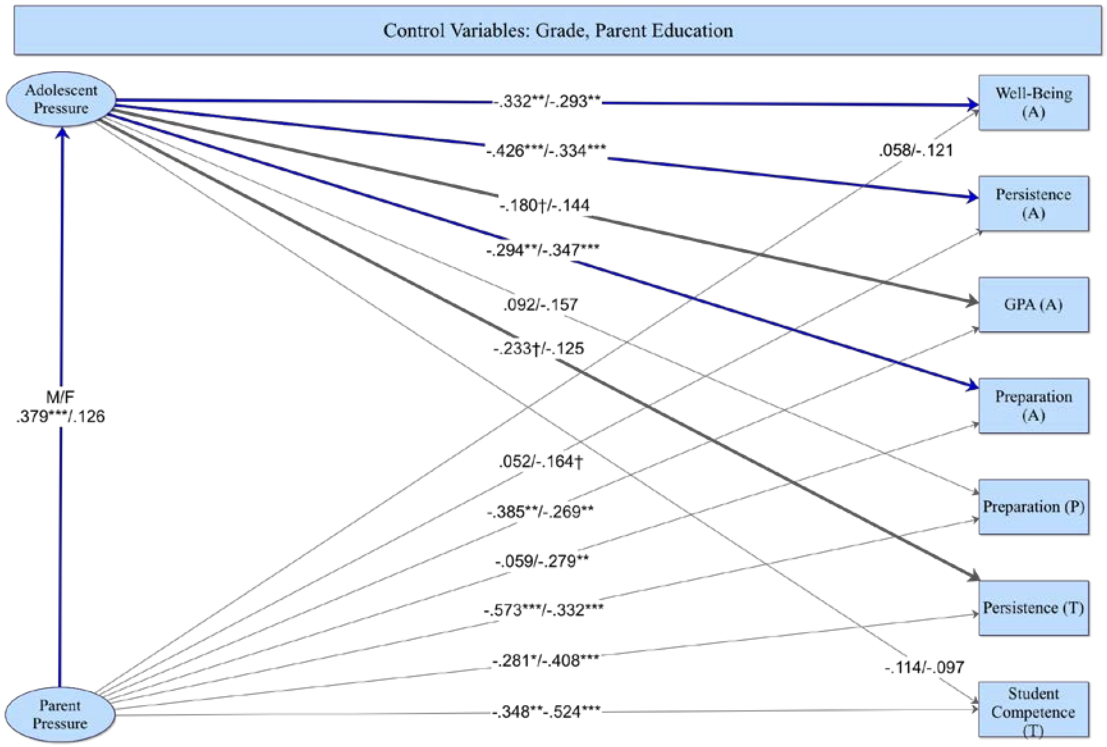
Table 4.13
Covariate Effects in PAS Mediation Multi-group Structural Equation Models (cont'd)

	Balance					
	Male			Female		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Grade —> Adolescent PAS	.03	.06	.05	.01	.05	.02
Parent Education —> Adolescent PAS	.04	.04	.11	-.02	.04	-.06
Grade —> Parent PAS	.02	.07	.04	-.05	.06	-.09
Parent Education —> Parent PAS	-.03	.05	-.07	.01	.05	.03
Grade —> Well-Being (A)	.02	.03	.05	.00	.03	-.00
Parent Education —> Well-Being (A)	.03	.03	.10	.04†	.02	.14
Grade —> Persistence (A)	-.07	.04	-.14	-.08*	.03	-.19
Parent Education —> Persistence (A)	-.00	.03	-.00	.04†	.03	.13
Grade —> GPA (A)	-.72***	.13	-.45	-.43***	.12	-.26
Parent Education —> GPA (A)	-.07	.09	-.06	.23*	.10	.18
Grade —> Preparation (A)	-.11†	.06	-.15	-.10*	.05	-.16
Parent Education —> Preparation (A)	.10*	.05	.18	.10*	.04	.19
Grade —> Preparation (P)	-.14*	.07	-.17	-.04	.05	-.07
Parent Education —>Preparation (P)	.01	.05	.02	.07†	.04	.13
Grade —> Persistence (T)	-.07	.06	-.10	-.10†	.05	-.16
Parent Education —> Persistence (T)	.02	.05	.03	.05	.04	.10
Grade —> Competence (T)	-.05	.06	-.08	-.12*	.06	-.18
Parent Education —> Competence (T)	.03	.05	.05	.07	.04	.14
	Shame					
	Male			Female		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Grade —> Adolescent PAS	.02	.08	.02	.00	.06	.00
Parent Education —> Adolescent PAS	.04	.06	.06	-.04	.05	-.08
Grade —> Parent PAS	.00	.04	.01	-.01	.04	-.03
Parent Education —> Parent PAS	.08*	.04	.25	-.02	.03	-.05
Grade —> Well-Being (A)	.03	.03	.08	-.00	.03	-.01
Parent Education —> Well-Being (A)	.05*	.03	.17	.03	.02	.10
Grade —> Persistence (A)	-.07	.04	-.13	-.08**	.03	-.20
Parent Education —> Persistence (A)	.04	.03	.10	.03	.03	.08
Grade —> GPA (A)	-.75***	.12	-.47	-.45***	.12	-.27
Parent Education —> GPA (A)	.02	.10	.02	.22*	.09	.17
Grade —> Preparation (A)	-.10†	.06	-.14	-.10*	.05	-.15
Parent Education —> Preparation (A)	.14**	.05	.25	.08*	.04	.15
Grade —> Preparation (P)	-.14*	.07	-.17	-.06	.05	-.09
Parent Education —>Preparation (P)	.05	.06	.08	.06	.04	.11
Grade —> Persistence (T)	-.08	.06	-.12	-.10†	.05	-.16
Parent Education —> Persistence (T)	.05	.05	.09	.04	.04	.09
Grade —> Competence (T)	-.06	.06	-.10	-.12*	.06	-.18
Parent Education —> Competence (T)	.05	.05	.09	.07	.04	.14

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Pressure

Direct effects. Negative relations between adolescent-reported pressure messages, GPA, and teacher persistence were only marginally significant for males, but were not related for females (see Figure 4.18 and Table 4.13). Links between parent reports of pressure messages, adolescent reports of persistence (only marginally significant), and adolescent reports of preparation were found only for females. Parent pressure messages were negatively related to males' GPA and parents' assessment of their preparation. Parent-reported pressure was associated with adolescent females reporting less preparation for academic tasks. Parent pressure was positively associated with adolescent females' reporting of persistence. Parent pressure has a direct effect on male adolescent pressure only.



N_M=144, N_F=163; Chi Sq = 196.000, df = 126, p = .0001; RMSEA = .060, 90% CI = .043-.076; CFI = .921; SRMR = .062

Figure 4. 18 Multi-group Model of Direct and Indirect Effects of Pressure on Male and Female Adolescent Outcomes

Note: Standardized estimates are presented with male values on the left and female on the right. Bold blue arrows note significant indirect pathways; bold black arrows denote marginally significant indirect pathways. Indirect effects exist only for males.
†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Adolescent pressure only meditated the relationship between parent pressure and adolescent outcomes for males. Parent balance pressure messages do not predict female adolescent balance messages and, thus, there were no indirect effects of parent balance messages on adolescent outcomes found for females (see Figure 4.18 and Table 4.14). Specifically, male adolescent reports of parental pressure was the mechanism by which parent pressure messages had a negative impact to sons' well-being, persistence, and preparation. There were marginal mediation findings of parent pressure and males GPA and teacher persistence.

Effort

Direct effects. Adolescent effort messages were positively linked to well-being and adolescent persistence for males, but not females (see Figure 4.19 and Table 4.13). Also, a negative pathway between adolescent effort and GPA was present for males only. Pathways between adolescent effort and adolescent-reported outcomes were found only for males. Female adolescents' effort messages were negatively associated with parent-reported preparation, and teacher-reported persistence and competence. Parents' reports of their effort messages were negatively associated with GPA and parent reports of preparation for females. Parent effort had a direct relationship to adolescent effort for both males and females.

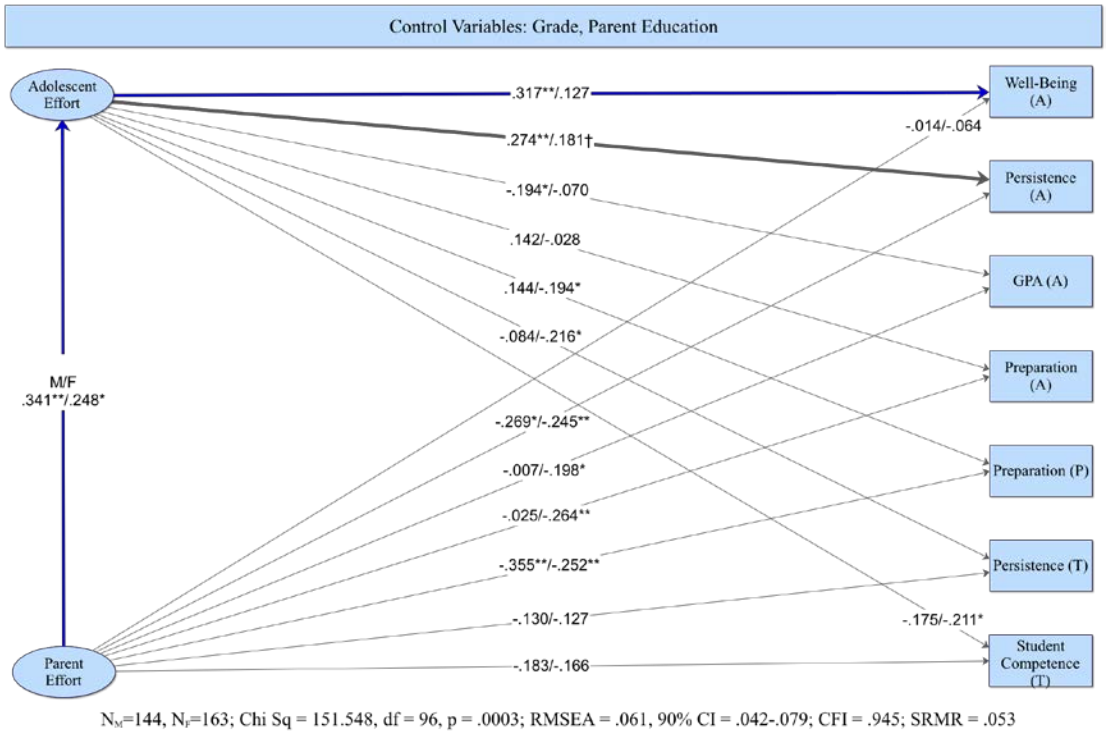


Figure 4. 19 Multi-group Model of Direct and Indirect Effects of Effort on Male and Female Adolescent Outcomes
Note: Standardized estimates are presented with male values on the left and female on the right. Bold blue arrows note significant indirect pathways; bold black arrows denote marginally significant indirect pathways. Indirect effects exist only for males.
†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Adolescent-reported effort only meditated the relationship between parent pressure and adolescent outcomes for males; no effort indirect effects were found for females (see Figure 4.19 and Table 4.14). Specifically, male adolescents' reports of effort messages were the mechanism by which parent pressure messages had a positive impact to sons' well-being. There were marginal mediation findings of parent effort and males self-reported persistence.

Table 4.14

Direct Effects of PAS on Adolescent Outcomes By Adolescent Gender

	Males			Females		
	Adolescent Pressure			Adolescent Pressure		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.24**	.08	-.33	-.24**	.09	-.29
Persistence (A)	-.37**	.11	-.43	-.33**	.11	-.33
GPA (A)	-.51†	.29	-.18	-.56	.37	-.14
Preparation (A)	-.38	.15	-.29	-.52**	.15	-.35
Preparation (P)	.13	.17	.09	-.24	.15	-.16
Persistence (T)	-.28†	.16	-.23	-.18	.15	-.13
Student Competence (T)	-.13	.15	-.11	-.15	.16	-.10
	Parent Pressure			Parent Pressure		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	.10	.21	.06	-.18	.13	-.12
Persistence (A)	.11	.24	.05	-.29†	.17	-.16
GPA (A)	-2.58*	1.02	-.39	-1.85**	.70	-.27
Preparation (A)	-.18	.36	-.06	-.74**	.27	-.28
Preparation (P)	-1.98**	.70	-.57	-.91**	.31	-.33
Persistence (T)	-.80†	.44	.28	-1.02**	.33	-.41
Student Competence (T)	-.96*	.47	-.35	-1.44***	.41	-.52
	Adolescent Effort			Adolescent Effort		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	.17**	.06	.32	.07	.05	.13
Persistence (A)	.18*	.08	.27	.12†	.06	.18
GPA (A)	-.41†	.22	-.19	-.17	.23	-.07
Preparation (A)	.14	.11	.14	-.03	.09	-.03
Preparation (P)	.16	.12	.14	-.19*	.09	-.19
Persistence (T)	-.08	.11	-.08	-.20*	.10	-.22
Student Competence (T)	-.15	.11	-.18	-.21*	.10	-.21
	Parent Effort			Parent Effort		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.01	.07	-.01	-.03	.05	-.06
Persistence (A)	-.20*	.09	-.27	-.15*	.06	-.25
GPA (A)	-.02	.25	-.01	-.45*	.21	-.20
Preparation (A)	-.03	.12	-.03	-.23**	.09	-.26
Preparation (P)	-.45**	.14	-.36	-.23*	.09	-.25
Persistence (T)	-.14	.13	-.13	-.11	.09	-.13
Student Competence (T)	-.19	.13	-.18	-.15	.11	-.17

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Table 4.14

Direct Effects of PAS on Adolescent Outcomes By Adolescent Gender (cont'd)

	Males			Females		
	Adolescent Balance			Adolescent Balance		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	.30**	.09	.40	.27**	.09	.35
Persistence (A)	.22*	.11	.24	.23*	.11	.25
GPA (A)	-.50†	.28	-.17	-.13	.38	-.04
Preparation (A)	.32*	.15	.24	.28†	.15	.20
Preparation (P)	.10	.17	.07	-.06	.15	-.04
Persistence (T)	-.25	.16	-.20	-.32*	.16	-.25
Student Competence (T)	-.33*	.16	-.27	-.17	.17	-.12
	Parent Balance			Parent Balance		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	.14	.12	.17	.02	.06	.03
Persistence (A)	-.25†	.15	-.25	.01	.08	.01
GPA (A)	-.44	.40	-.14	.17	.30	.06
Preparation (A)	-.05	.19	-.03	-.09	.12	-.08
Preparation (P)	-.00	.22	-.00	.12	.13	.11
Persistence (T)	-.14	.22	-.10	.03	.14	.03
Student Competence (T)	.00	.21	.00	-.05	.14	-.05
	Adolescent Shame			Adolescent Shame		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.01	.05	-.02	-.12*	.05	-.22
Persistence (A)	-.07	.06	-.12	-.20**	.06	-.31
GPA (A)	-.19	.18	-.10	-.25	.24	-.10
Preparation (A)	-.08	.08	-.09	-.22*	.10	-.22
Preparation (P)	.15	.10	.16	-.20*	.10	-.20
Persistence (T)	.01	.09	.01	-.13	.10	-.14
Student Competence (T)	-.02	.09	-.03	-.06	.11	-.06
	Parent Shame			Parent Shame		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.14	.11	-.15	-.07	.09	-.09
Persistence (A)	-.22	.14	-.19	-.05	.11	-.05
GPA (A)	-.93*	.43	-.25	-.62	.40	-.15
Preparation (A)	-.24	.20	-.14	-.19	.16	-.12
Preparation (P)	-.55*	.23	-.29	-.40*	.17	-.25
Persistence (T)	-.52*	.23	-.33	-.21	.16	-.14
Student Competence (T)	-.44*	.21	-.29	-.44*	.19	-.30

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Balance

Direct effects. For males, a negative relation between adolescent balance and GPA was marginally significant (see Figure 4.20 and Table 4.13). A positive relation between adolescent balance and adolescent preparation was found for males. A negative relation between adolescent-reported balance and teacher persistence was found for females. However, a negative relation between adolescent balance and teacher competence was found for males. One marginal parent balance finding emerged for males negatively linking parent balance messages to adolescent persistence. Parent balance had a marginal direct effect on female adolescent balance only.

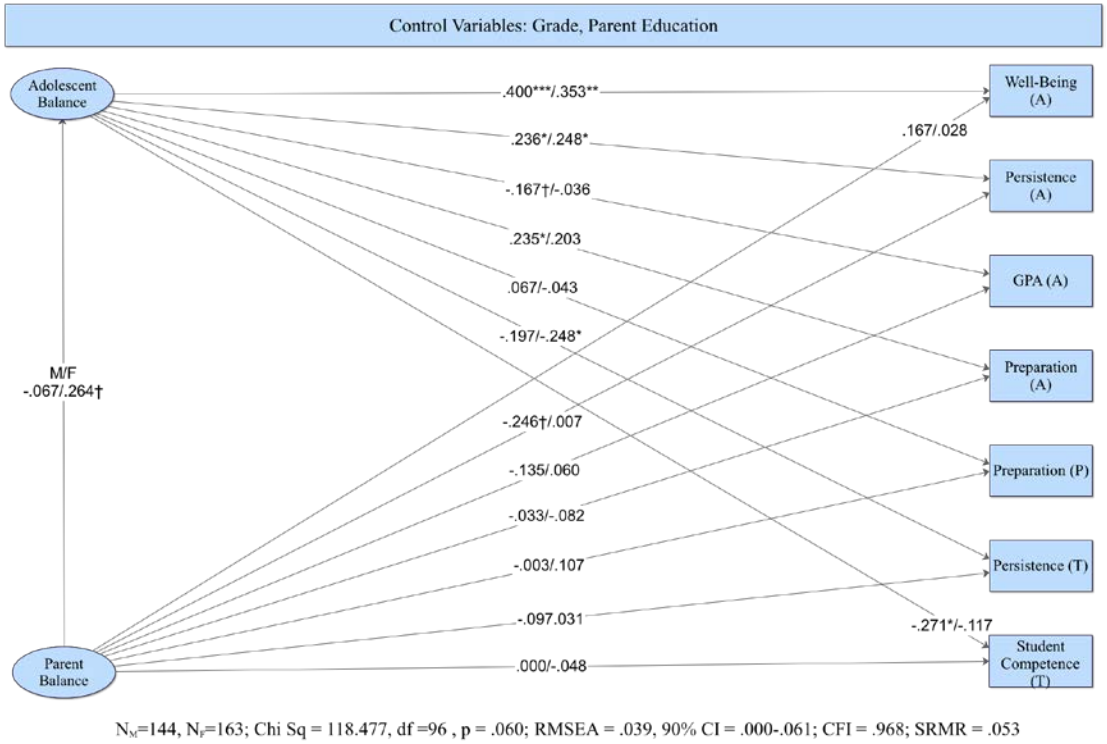


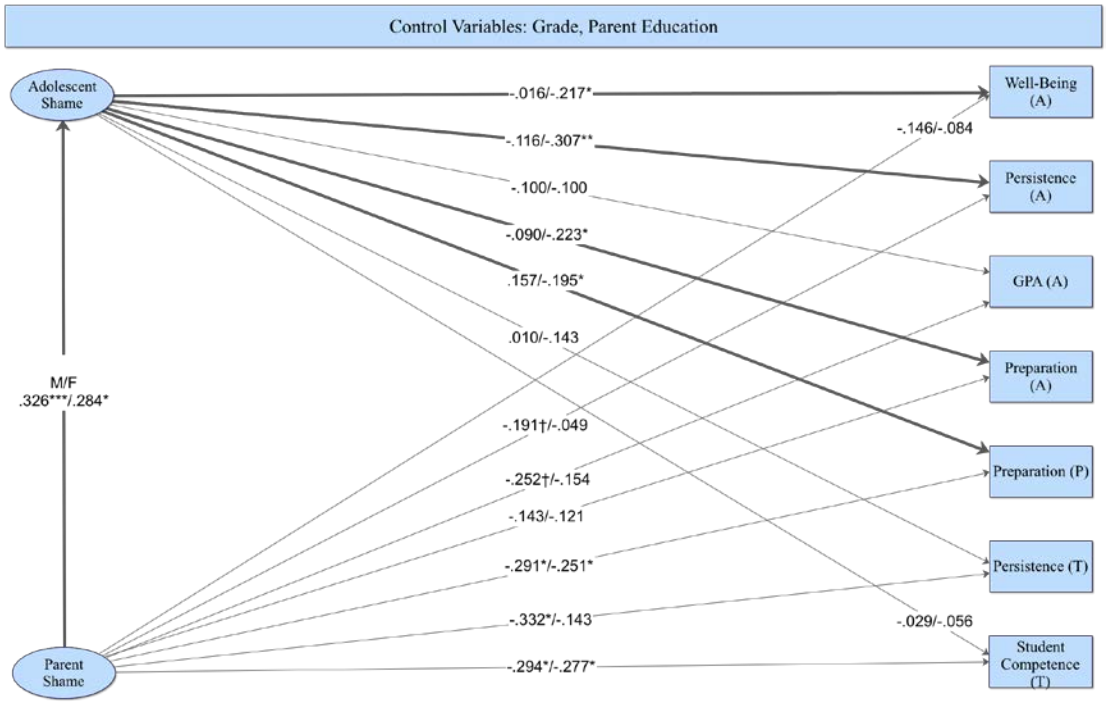
Figure 4. 20 Multi-group Model of Direct and Indirect Effects of Balance on Male and Female Adolescent Outcomes

Note: Standardized estimates are presented with male values on the left and female on the right.
†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Though parent balance messages marginally predicted female adolescent balance messages, no indirect effects of parent balance messages on adolescent outcomes were found (see Figure 4.20 and Table 4.14).

Shame

Direct effects. Negative relations between adolescent shame and well-being, adolescent persistence, and adolescent and parent preparation were found for males, but not females (see Figure 4.21 and Table 4.13). Parent shame was negatively linked to teacher persistence for females. Marginal negative relations between parent shame and adolescent persistence and GPA were found. Parent shame has a direct effect on adolescent shame for both males and females.



N_M=144, N_F=163; Chi Sq = 99.617, df = 68, p = .008; RMSEA = .055, 90% CI = .029-.077; CFI = .965; SRMR = .036

Figure 4. 21 Multi-group Model of Direct and Indirect Effects of Shame on Male and Female Adolescent Outcomes
Note: Standardized estimates are presented with male values on the left and female on the right. Bold blue arrows note significant indirect pathways; bold black arrows denote marginally significant indirect pathways. Indirect effects exist only for females.
†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Indirect effects. Adolescent balance marginally meditated the relationship between parent balance and adolescent outcomes for females; no effort indirect effects were found for males (see Figure 4.19 and Table 4.14).

Table 4.15 *Indirect Effects of Parent PAS on Adolescent Outcomes by Gender*

	Pressure					
	Male			Female		
Parent PAS—>Adolescent PAS—>	*b*	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.22†	.12	-..13	-.05	.05	-.04
Persistence (A)	-.33*	.17	-.16	-.08	.07	-.04
GPA (A)	-.46†	.28	-.07	-.13	.14	-.02
Preparation (A)	-.34†	.19	-.11	-.12	.11	-.04
Preparation (P)	.12	.18	.04	-.05	.06	-.02
Persistence (T)	-.25	.16	-.09	-.04	.05	-.02
Student Competence (T)	-.12	.14	-.04	-.03	.04	-.01
	Effort					
	Male			Female		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	.07*	.03	.11	.02	.01	.03
Persistence (A)	.07†	.04	.09	.03	.02	.05
GPA (A)	-.16	.10	-.07	-.04	.06	-.02
Preparation (A)	.05	.05	.05	-.01	.02	-.01
Preparation (P)	.06	.06	.05	-.04	.03	-.05
Persistence (T)	-.03	.05	-.03	-.04	.03	-.05
Student Competence (T)	-.06	.05	-.06	-.05	.03	-.05
	Balance					
	Male			Female		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.02	.06	-.03	.06	.04	.09
Persistence (A)	-.02	.04	-.02	.05	.03	.07
GPA (A)	.04	.10	.01	-.03	.08	-.01
Preparation (A)	-.02	.06	-.02	.06	.05	.05
Preparation (P)	-.01	.02	-.00	-.01	.03	-.01
Persistence (T)	.02	.05	.01	-.07	.05	-.07
Student Competence (T)	.02	.06	.02	-.03	.04	-.03
	Shame					
	Male			Female		
	b	SE	β	*b*	SE	β
Well-Being (A)	-.01	.03	-.01	-.05	03.	-.06
Persistence (A)	-.04	.04	-.04	-.09†	.05	-.09
GPA (A)	-.12	.12	-.03	-.11	.12	-.03
Preparation (A)	-.05	.06	-.03	-.10	.06	-.06
Preparation (P)	.10	.08	.05	-.09	.06	-.06
Persistence (T)	.01	.06	.00	-.06	.05	-.04
Student Competence (T)	-.01	.06	-.01	-.03	.05	-.02

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Chapter 5: Discussion

This dissertation addressed five aims: 1) to determine the extent to which parents and adolescents are concordant in their reporting of PAS messages, 2) to investigate the ways in which PAS concordance/discordance is associated with the positive psychological and academic functioning of adolescents, 3) to investigate the ways in which both parents' and adolescents' perceptions of PAS messages relate to adolescent outcomes, 4) to understand the extent to which adolescent perspectives on PAS mediate relations between parents' PAS perspectives and adolescent outcomes, and 5) to assess how relations between parent- and adolescent-reported PAS and adolescent outcomes in aims three and four may differ between Black adolescent males and females.

Using latent profile analysis (LPA) to examine PAS concordance, my investigation demonstrated more agreement between parent-adolescent dyads than found in previous research. Unlike findings in previous research, my investigation revealed that the best adolescent outcomes were not always associated with greater parent-adolescent PAS concordance. Additionally, both parent and adolescent PAS perspectives, with the exception of balance PAS messages, were linked to adolescent psychological and academic functioning. One of the main takeaways from this work is that parents' perspectives on academic socialization matter for adolescent psychological and academic functioning. Parent perspectives were associated with adolescent outcomes as reported by parents, adolescents, and teachers. Adolescent reports were only associated with adolescent-reported and teacher-reported outcomes. Finally, these findings

support theory suggesting adolescent socialization perspectives are the mechanism by which parent socialization has an impact on adolescent outcomes.

Preliminary PAS Findings

Descriptives

In preliminary analyses of parent- and adolescent-reported PAS messages, there were no mean-level differences between parent and adolescent reports of effort messages. However, parents reported much less shame and more pressure and balance than adolescents. Existing research contends that adolescent parenting reports tend to be more negative than parent reports of the same behavior (De Los Reyes & Ohannessian, 2016; Ohannessian & De Los Reyes, 2014; Yeung, 2016) and parents report more positive parenting than adolescents (Scott et al., 2011). My findings are partially in agreement with this work as adolescents reported more shame, a negative valence PAS message, and less balance, a positive valence PAS message.

Though adolescent reports of balance and shame reflected a more negative view than parent reports of the same messages, parents reported more pressure than adolescents. Research states that parents and children hold their own, different, perspectives of parenting and family processes within the parent-child relationship (Janssens et al., 2014) where adolescents tend to view the family more negatively than parents (Ohannessian, Lerner, Lerner, & Eye, 1995) and parents report more positive parenting behaviors than their adolescents (Scott, Briskman, & Dadds, 2011). It could be that parents' reporting of PAS messages are the PAS messaging that they hope that they would communicate or their PAS message reports are a reflection of parents' PAS goals/intentions. Underreporting of shame could be a result of social desirability. In effort to appear that they are not engaging in seemingly negative parenting behavior, parents may report lower frequencies of shame messages, their ideal PAS behaviors or PAS goals and not

their actual PAS behaviors. Just as likely, adolescents may have over reported shame. It is interesting that parents reported giving more pressure messages than what adolescents perceived, especially given that the pressure messages assessed in the current study were negative in nature and thus it might be expected that adolescents would perceive more frequent pressure messages from parents than what parents reported. As discussed earlier, it may be that adolescents perceive a different or more positive intent behind parents' pressure messages.

PAS Measurement

The current investigation used a multidimensional approach to the assessment of the content of PAS messages with a modification of the Education Socialization Scale (ESS-M). The scale captured effort, pressure, balance, and shame PAS messages. Few studies conceptualize PAS in terms of the content of the academic messages parents convey to their children (see for exceptions Bempechat et al., 1999, Rogers et al., 2009, Suizzo & Soon, 2006, and Suizzo et al., 2012 for exceptions) and thus, this research is still in its infancy. Several analyses in the current study yielded information on the distinction between pressure and shame messages. Though I expected that pressure and shame messages would be statistically different from one another, within an SEM framework the two latent constructs were correlated so highly in parent reports that it appeared that they could be undifferentiated for parents. In fact, models including both could not be run because of collinearity. Other studies with African Americans have similarly found a high degree of statistical overlap between pressure and shame subscales (Ross, 2013). It is plausible that pressure and shame may go hand-in-hand for parents; parents who pressure their children are likely to shame them as well. This may be particularly true in the current study in which my measurement of pressure PAS reflected maladaptive pressure messages (e.g., expectations, actions, and responses that may demoralize children's academic abilities). It may

be that the lack of differentiation of pressure and shame in the current study is indication that maladaptive PAS messages include a variety of content messages (e.g., pressure, shame, punishment) that represent one unified construct for parents. Thus, parents who give one type of maladaptive PAS message like shame are just as likely to give another type of maladaptive PAS message like demoralizing or maladaptive pressure. In contrast, although pressure and shame were highly correlated for adolescents, they were also differentiated. Future work should further investigate the distinction of shame and pressure among parents and adolescents by including a measurement of adaptive pressure PAS (e.g., training, demandingness, and challenge) and by investigating the extent to which construct distinction is captured by higher order latent constructs of maladaptive and adaptive PAS messaging.

With regard to the measurement structure of PAS messages, some items for parent-reported balance and pressure demonstrated low factor loadings (>.5). These low loadings for select items have the potential to compromise the internal consistency of parents' balance and pressure constructs. As it happens, parent-reported pressure and balance held the lowest reliabilities of all the PAS messages. It is possible, for example, that the low internal consistency was the culprit of parent-reported balance messages being entirely unrelated to adolescent outcomes. The internal consistency of both pressure and balance could improve with item revision. More work on measurement construction for PAS messages is needed to create a more reliable and valid PAS measure; this will aid in more accurate estimation of PAS pathways to adolescent outcomes.

Concordance Via Correlations

In my preliminary assessment of PAS concordance, there were small positive correlations between parent and adolescent reports of the same messages, with the exception of balance

messages. There was no relation between parent and adolescent balance messages. Concordance between PAS messages based on correlations is consistent with previous research that has found parent-child concordance correlations to be low ($r \approx .25$; Achenbach et al., 1987).

PAS Concordance

In this study, I first investigated whether parents and adolescents would be concordant in their reports of parent PAS messages. Previous research demonstrated modest levels of concordance (Achenbach et al., 1987; Feinberg et al., 2000). This past work employed difference scores or correlations as a way to assess concordance between parents and adolescents. These are methods that examine absolute agreement by comparing the value of parent and adolescent reports against one another. Research using methods that capture absolute agreement have found modest levels of concordance between parent and adolescent reports. With this in mind I decided to use latent profile analysis, a method that assesses relative agreement between parent and adolescent report. The LPA clustered parent-adolescent dyads based on the distance between their PAS reports, thus allowing me to examine how similar or different parent and adolescent reports are from one another, rather than whether they are the same or different. In contrast to existing research, I found much more concordance than other researchers would suggest exists within parent-child dyads. Using LPA, I found about half of the dyads across each message in this study reported similar levels of PAS. However, previous research found that parents and adolescents were rarely concordant (Achenbach et al. 1987; Feinberg et al., 2000; Ringoot et al., 2015; Y. Wang & Benner, 2013). The results of my study suggest that whether or not parent-adolescent dyads are concordant is just the beginning of understanding the ways in which parent and adolescent socialization perspectives matter for the academic functioning of adolescents. I

found nuance in the effect of discordant parent-adolescent dyads. When parents report the lowest levels of effort, pressure, and shame adolescents are doing the best.

PAS Concordance Profiles

Concordant groups did not vary by mean level agreement (e.g., agreeing on low frequency of pressure messages). I expected that two concordant profiles would emerge, one agreeing at low frequency and another agreeing at high frequency. However, only one concordant group for each PAS message emerged from the latent profile analysis solutions and this group always reflected average levels of PAS messages. Several discrepant groups were identified. These profiles varied in how much they disagreed in their PAS message reporting (moderate and severe) and by which participant reported more or less frequency of the PAS message.

I anticipated that PAS message concordance and small discrepancies where adolescents report more optimal PAS (e.g., less shame or pressure, more balance) than their parent would be associated with adaptive academic and psychological functioning. I also expected that adolescents of dyads with large discrepancies would likely have the least adaptive outcomes. My results suggested a fairly complex pattern where the consequences for concordance and relative importance of parent or child reports varied across messages and outcomes.

Pressure. With regard to pressure messages, concordant dyads having either parents or adolescents report greater frequency of pressure (A=P, A<<P) was associated with more negative outcomes relative to the discordant groups where both parents and adolescents reported pressure messages below the mean (A>>P, A<P). This was the case regardless of whether discrepancies were large or small. When parents reported pressure messages at levels below the mean, especially when those levels were much lower than adolescent reports adolescents had better

outcomes. This finding suggests that adolescent academic functioning can be positive as long as one dyad member reports low pressure, however, adolescents do best when parents report low pressure. Students in this A>>P pressure profile exhibited the best academic functioning relative to other profiles. However, the present study did not account for prior achievement and it could be that the adolescents in this profile are students whose parents do not use pressure socialization strategies because their adolescent is performing well.

Effort. Adolescents in the profile with large effort discrepancies where parents reported the lowest frequency of effort messages and adolescents reported average effort (A>>P) exhibited the best academic functioning for adolescents. Effort concordant adolescents fared better than those that were discordant where parents reported effort above the mean (A>P, A<<P).

Balance. Large discrepancies in balance messages yielded mixed findings in adolescent outcomes. More specifically, when adolescents perceived a lot more balance messages than their parents (A>>P), they had the highest levels of psychological well-being but were typically viewed as average achievers by parents and teachers relative to adolescents in other concordant/discordant groups. Conversely, when adolescents perceived much lower levels of balance messages than what their parents report (A<<P) they have the lowest levels of psychological well-being, the least positive academic preparation, and teachers see them as more persistent and competent relative to adolescents in other concordant/discrepant groups.

Shame. Small discrepancies in shame yielded the most adaptive academic outcomes when parents reported less shame than adolescents (A>P). This is similar to the findings of Y. Wang & Benner (2013). When examining the ways in which parent-adolescent discrepancies are associated with the academic performance of adolescents, they found that when adolescents

believed that their parents held slightly lower expectations than those adolescents had for themselves they had more adaptive outcomes than those that with larger discrepancies or those whose parents actually held higher expectations.

Contrary to existing research where little concordance has been found between parent-child reports (Achenbach et al., 1987), about half of the dyads for each PAS message LPA in this study were relatively concordant. Also counter to existing research, the most adaptive adolescents outcomes were not always evidenced in concordant dyads (Feinberg et al., 2000). Consistent with Y. Wang and Benner (2013), this work found that perspective matters, particularly when examining discrepant parent-adolescent reports. In the present work, when parents report the lowest levels of pressure or shame adolescents had the most adaptive outcomes relative to those where parents report average or high levels of pressure or shame. Parents' perspective seems to be driving the relations with pressure PAS messages. However, relations between balance and effort discrepancies and study outcomes are more complex when considering both parent and adolescent perspectives. Adolescents in effort discrepancy profiles where any dyad member reported high effort experienced poorer academic functioning. The profile in which adolescents reported the highest frequency of balance messages and parents reported average balance messages also had the highest levels of well-being and persistence. However, teachers reported these adolescents to be the least persistent. When adolescents reported the lowest levels of balance messages and parents also reported average balance, adolescents had the lowest levels of well-being, persistence, and preparation. However, teachers saw these students as the most persistent and competent. Taken together this research would suggest that parent and adolescent perspectives matter when accounting for the ways in which parental academic socialization messages have an influence on adolescent academic outcomes.

The current study adds to both the parent-child concordance literature and the PAS literature, with the contribution of my novel approach to examining concordance between parent and adolescent perspectives. As described earlier, I used a relative index of concordance which allowed for a more nuanced understanding in the ways that parent and adolescent reports relate to one another. Preliminary inter-correlations of parent- and adolescent-reported PAS messages coupled with my LPA approach to PAS parent-adolescent concordance provides a dyad-centered understanding of what is being measured by previous correlational concordance studies. For instance, although parent and adolescent reports in this study demonstrated small positive correlations for all messages (with the exception of balance messages), the supplemental information presented in the LPAs reveals that even in the case of balance messages, approximately half of parents and adolescents reported similar mean-level reports of PAS and the other half of dyads represent a variety types of discrepancy in reports. The LPAs allow for a better understanding of how discrepancies are manifested in parent and adolescent perspectives of PAS and how these differences in discrepancies relate to adolescent outcomes, a distinction that concordance studies using correlations are unable to make. Future studies should continue to investigate the utility of LPAs in examining concordance in parent and child reports of parenting and behavior.

PAS Concordance Profiles by Covariates

Concordant/discordant profile memberships were not associated with any of the parent or adolescent demographic characteristics tested. Some PAS message composites differed by parent and adolescent characteristics in preliminary analyses (e.g., negative relation between adolescents' grade in school and parent messages of effort), yet consistent patterns between parent- and adolescent-reported PAS and demographic characteristics did not emerge.

Interestingly, parent education was not significantly associated with any of the PAS messages across parent or adolescent report. Other research has found no relation between parents' education and PAS in research including Black parent-adolescent dyads (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Suizzo et al., 2016).. Though family SES and other financial assets are strong predictors of child educational outcomes (Kim & Sherraden, 2011), Black parents of all education levels and SES brackets place a high value on education as a means of social mobility (McCallum, 2015) and thus engage in PAS messaging according to their socialization goals.

There is little research that has examined relations between demographic characteristics and parent-child concordance, however previous research has found that it was more likely that mother-child dyads would be discrepant when the child was a boy and that mothers with lower education were more likely to be in a discrepant group (Ringoot et al., 2015). Concordant/discordant group membership did not differ by child age, ethnicity, martial status, or family income in these data. The present work did not identify any variation in concordance profile membership by the demographic characteristics under investigation.

It is possible that agreement profiles between parents and adolescents differ by characteristics of the parent-adolescent relationship rather than demographic characteristics. Research suggests parent-child relations (e.g., constructs like communication and relationship quality) would also predict parent-child concordance. Latent profile analysis of parents' and child agreement on child behavior problems found that parents and children were more likely to agree when there was a positive family environment and were more likely to disagree when there was a negative family environment (Ringoot et al, 2015).

Multiple PAS Perspectives

Structural equation modeling was employed to investigate the ways in which both parents' and adolescents' PAS messages relate to adolescent outcomes and to understand the extent to which adolescent perspectives on PAS mediate relations between parents' PAS perspectives and adolescent outcomes. Regarding the main effects of PAS messages, it was anticipated that pressure and shame would relate negatively to all adolescent outcomes and messages of effort would be positively related to adolescents' academic outcomes. No hypotheses regarding the relation between balance and academic functioning were offered, as there is scant research to support such assertions. However, due to the nature of balance messages (i.e., parents offering messages that students should maintain a positive sense of self in the midst of strong academic efforts) it was assumed that balance would relate positively to adolescents' well-being. I expected that the magnitude of relationships would be different for adolescent- and parent-reports such that adolescent reports would be more strongly related to adolescent-reported and teacher-reported outcomes than parent reports. As expected, pressure and shame were negatively linked to adolescent outcomes. However, effort and balance findings were mixed.

One perplexing finding of the work herein was the interrelation between all PAS messages and teacher-reported outcomes, regardless of reporter. Within these data any instance of parent socialization message was linked to teachers viewing students as less persistent or less competent. There is not much research to explain this surprising finding. However, researchers (K. Robinson & Harris, 2013) found that relative to White parents, Black parents respond more punitively to underachievement and engage in involvement behaviors without consulting their child's teachers. The authors findings suggest that parents' punitive responses to

underachievement are linked to future underachievement and this relation was more negative for Black parents than White. Furthermore, the authors found that the non-punitive underachievement reaction of reaching out to the child's teachers was associated with increased achievement both in combination with and absent of parental help with academic tasks and academic encouragement. The authors interpret their findings to suggest that parents responding to their child's underachievement without consulting teachers/faculty contribute to the underachievement of their child. They state, "Educators and policymakers should pay particular attention to how parents respond to inadequate achievement as imploring parents of inadequately performing students to be more involved without providing them with some guidance might exacerbate the problem" (Robinson & Harris, 2013, p 1346). In conversation with the present findings, it is possible that the negative relation between all PAS messages and teacher-reported outcomes suggest that parents messaging may not align well with students' academic motivation needs, and thus translates to more challenges in the classroom. However, the present study is limited by cross-sectional data and does not account for prior achievement. Therefore, it is not possible to know if the parents in this study are offering PAS messages in response to achievement. Longitudinal work is needed to further test these relations and test Robinson and Harris' hypothesis.

Pressure

Overall both parent and adolescent pressure perspectives were negatively associated with adolescent outcomes with a few exceptions. Parent-reported pressure had no relation to adolescent well-being or persistence. Adolescent reports of pressure were negatively related to all adolescent-reported outcomes and teacher reports of persistence. However, adolescent reports of pressure had no relation to parent reports of preparation or teachers' ratings of student

competence. Parent-reported pressure was directly related to adolescent pressure and adolescent pressure was the mechanism by which parent-reported pressure had a negative impact on adolescents' positive psychological and academic functioning. These findings are in agreement with existing literature suggesting that academic pressure has a negative effect on adolescents' psychological functioning (Mandara et al., 2012, Mordkowitz & Ginsburg, 1986), academic self-schema (Bempechat, 1992), and academic competence and performance (Rogers et al., 2009).

In chapter two, I noted differences between maladaptive and adaptive pressure and concluded that pressure, as measured in this study, would likely reflect maladaptive or demoralizing pressure. Findings of negative relations between pressure and outcomes suggest that this is true of these data. Moreover, in the confirmatory factor analysis of PAS items, the item loading most strongly onto adolescent pressure stated that parent standards were so high that adolescents believed they could not meet them. This would suggest that this item is the defining characteristic for adolescent reports of pressure within the current study and this form of pressure is in line with maladaptive pressure. Scholars suggest that parental academic pressure is applied when parents' academic standards exceed the child's academic ability (Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997; Mickelson, 1990; Rowley, 2000; Seginer & Vermulst, 2002). Suggesting that if a child of average ability had a parent with very high academic standards, that child would perceive high parental pressure. This would be additional support for research that suggests that pressure is manifested through the interaction of adolescence perceptions of their own ability and parents' academic standards (Grolnick et al., 1997; Mickelson, 1990; Seignier & Vermulst, 2002) and translates diminished psychological well-being, academic motivation, engagement, and teacher perceptions of student engagement and competence.

Effort

Effort findings were mixed, yielding positive relations with psychological well-being adolescent reports of GPA and teacher reports of persistence and student competence when reported by adolescents and findings were negative for parent reports. This finding begs the question: What is it about effort messages that it can be good for some adolescent outcomes and not others? Bempechat et al., 1999 found a negative relation between effort and standardized math test scores for "Indo-Chinese students and Bernardo (2009) found a negative relation between effort and college entrance exam scores (i.e., math, science, and English). These studies and the current study employed cross-sectional data making it possible that effort messages are offered in response to poorer academic performance. Adolescents may begin to interpret effort messages as pressure to perform to high standards or shame for poor performance. Adolescent-reported effort messages are moderately correlated with pressure at r=.48 and shame and r=.46. It is possible that effort messages employed in response to underachievement may be coupled with or interpreted as pressure or shame.

Furthermore, the tone and context of effort messaging may also be a factor in these mixed findings. It is possible that messaging like "you can get good grades in school as long as you always try hard" may have a different effect on adolescents' academic self-schema and performance than "if you don't do well on the test it's probably because you didn't study hard enough or for long enough". The former effort exemplar focuses on effort as a precursor to success and could serve as a positive motivating factor. This form of effort item is akin to incremental intelligence theories (Yeager & Dweck, 2012) and a focus on effortful behavior as a positive trait that are associated with positive academic functioning (Kamins & Dweck, 1999). In the latter exemplar effort messages may be demoralizing and compromise self-determination and

academic self-schema because it focuses on a failure and can be interpreted as a personal negative appraisal (Kamins & Dweck, 1999). However, my work captures the both effort messages; this may explain why both positive and negative relations are observed. Future research is needed to distinguish among what might be classified as maladaptive and adaptive effort messages. Also, it is possible that curvilinear relationships between effort and adolescent outcomes exist. There may be an optimal level of effort messaging that is neither to low so that the messages are not effective nor too high so that the messages are not perceived as pressure.

Balance

Parents' messages of balance were unrelated to adolescent outcomes. Adolescent reports of balance and effort messages have complex findings. Adolescent-reported balance messages are positively linked to psychological well-being, persistence, and preparation, yet, negatively related to teacher reported outcomes of persistence and student competence. Parent balance had no relation to adolescent balance, and thus, mediation was not possible. This finding suggests that adolescents' perceptions of balance messages are adaptive for adolescents' well-being and support adolescent's academic engagement and motivation. However, this adaptive quality of balance does not translate to GPA and teacher perceptions of students' engagement and ability. Balance is maladaptive in these relations. It is possible that those parents who privilege their adolescents' well-being may have adolescents who are already not doing well in school (e.g., low prior achievement). These findings are consistent with previous work in which Ross (2013) found negative relations between parents' balance messages and adolescents' engagement with new classroom material and re-engagement with class material after failure. As suggested by S. A. Hill (1999) the priority parents place on their school performance in juxtaposition with their happiness may have consequences for adolescent academic development.

There were no significant correlations between parent- and adolescent-reported balance and no direct effects of parent balance on any adolescent outcomes after accounting for covariates. This may be a reflection of the poor reliability of parent-reported balance. It is possible that the low internal consistency of balance may mean that balance items hold a different meaning to parents than to their adolescent children. Neither indices of internal consistency nor SEM modeling of concept structure assess equivalence of meaning between parents and adolescents. Qualitative inquiry is necessary to assess this meaning making process between parents and adolescents within specific PAS messages.

Shame

There were few significant findings between adolescent-reported shame messages and adolescent outcomes. Adolescent-reported shame was negatively linked to adolescent-reported persistence and preparation. Adolescent-reported shame was not linked to parent or teacher reports of adolescent academic functioning. Parent-reported shame, however, was negatively related to adolescent, parent, and teacher reports. Parent-reported shame was negatively related to GPA, parents' assessment of preparation for academic tasks, and teacher-reported persistence and student competence. Parent-reported shame messages were directly related to adolescent-reported shame. Findings suggest that adolescent shame is the mechanism by which parent shame had an impact on adolescent persistence and preparation. These findings suggest the adolescent shame messages have negative effects on academic engagement and self-schema, but not adolescent well-being or academic performance. Parent-reported shame messages had a negative effect on GPA. Findings are in agreement with existing literature that suggests that parents' messages of shame may compromise students' academic self-schema, motivation, and performance (McGregor, 2005; Pekrun, 2007). However, similar to the discussion of effort

messages, it is possible that poor performance leads to parent use of shame, rather than the reverse.

Consistent with the Eccles' Expectancy Value Theory model (Eccles, 2007), it was expected that parent PAS perspectives would have both direct and indirect effects on adolescents' academic functioning. It was expected that parents' PAS reports would predict adolescent PAS reports and that adolescent PAS reports would predict adolescents' academic and psychosocial outcomes. Above and beyond the effects of adolescent PAS on adolescent outcomes, parent PAS had an effect on adolescent, parent, and teacher reported outcomes. In three out of four PAS messages, adolescent PAS mediated relations between parent PAS and outcomes; no mediation was found for balance messages. Moreover, parent reports of effort messages were directly linked to adolescent reports of effort messages. Adolescent effort messages were the mechanism by which parents' reports of effort messages were related to adolescents' well-being, re-engagement after failure, and teacher reports of student competence. These findings support Eccles' theory that direct and indirect effects of parent socialization on child academic functioning exist. Not only is it that the socialization adolescents perceive the mechanism by which parent PAS influences adolescent outcomes, but what parents believe that they are doing also has an effect.

Parent-reported PAS has implications for adolescent outcomes. It is not just about adolescents' perceptions of parenting behavior. This study showed that this is true for various types of PAS messages shared between parents and their adolescent children. Both what parents think that they are doing and what adolescents think parents are doing have an impact on adolescents' well-being and academic processes. It was not always the case that adolescent PAS mediated relations between parent PAS and outcomes in this study. In some instances only

adolescent perceptions were associated with outcomes, those reported by themselves, and their teachers (i.e., balance). In the case of pressure and shame, parent reports were more strongly associated with parent and teacher reported outcomes.

Differential Socialization

While research documents gender differences in achievement for boys and girls (Kaba, 2005; Yee & Eccles, 1998) and suggests that gendered parental socialization has an impact on the self-systems, behavioral, and academic outcomes of children (Mandara et al. 2010, Wood et al.), few studies of academic socialization have examined the role of gender and the extent to which such discrepancies in outcomes are a reflection of differential academic socialization.

In line with the differential socialization hypothesis, gender differences were expected between PAS messages. However, the only gender difference that was found was that parents reported sharing shame messages with sons more often than with daughters. The lack of gender differences in effort and pressure messages was surprising, given that previous work has highlighted the emphasis of success and self-sufficiency, higher expectations for academic competence, and great attribution of success to child ability (Rouland et al., 2913, Mandara et al., 2010, Mandara & Murray, 2007; Wood et al., 2007; Wood & Graham, 2010) in parental socialization for Black girls as opposed to Black boys.

Based on existing PAS differential socialization research (Ross, 2013), I engaged in an exploratory analysis of mean gender differences in PAS and gender moderation in the relation between PAS and adolescent outcomes. I expected to find differences in PAS frequency for male and female students. I also expected that relations between parent pressure, shame, and adolescent engagement would be more robust for female students than male students. However, strong evidence to support these assumptions was lacking as only a single independent empirical

paper of recent times had found mean differences and gender moderation (Ross, 2013). My study offers little to support either hypothesis. The only PAS mean difference found was that parents of males reported that they use shame messages with greater frequency than parents of females. However, there were differences in the ways PAS messages were linked to the psychological and academic functioning of male and female adolescents.

I found negative relationships between pressure, effort, and balance messages and males' GPA. Relations between PAS messages and GPA were not significant for females. Moreover, in the previous multiple perspectives model, balance messages were not associated with adolescent GPA. However, balance messages received by Black adolescent males were negatively linked to their GPA. Previous research found negative relations between balance messages and engagement for Black middle school females and no relation between balance and engagement for males (Ross, 2013). The present results are in conflict with these findings. Only adolescent females' shame and balance messages were related to parent reports of adolescent preparation. This relationship was not found in the previous multiple PAS perspective models. Adolescent females' reports of shame and balance messages were negatively related to parent reports of adolescents' preparation.

The outcomes of adolescent females seem to be sensitive to their own reports of parents' shame socialization. However, the outcomes of adolescent males seem to be sensitive to parents' reports of shame. Conversely, the outcomes of adolescent males are sensitive to their own reports of pressure and the outcomes of adolescent females are sensitive to parent reports of pressure. Males benefit more from balance and effort messages and experience more costs from pressure than females. These findings, however, show no consistent patterning of the ways in which PAS may function differentially for the outcomes of Black boys and girls.

The present research found little support for the differential socialization hypothesis that suggests that variation in the socialization of males and females accounts for males' underperformance relative to females. There were few differences between the PAS of males and females and moderated relations between PAS and adolescent outcomes yielded no consistent, interpretable pattern.

PAS & Black Parents

Much of the research on parenting of Black children has focused on deficits within Black families [led by low-income single mothers] (Slaughter-Defoe, 2003) (Slaughter-Defoe, 2003). In the last four decades, scholars (see the works of McAdoo, Beale-Spencer, Slaughter-Defoe, Cunningham, S. A. Hill, N. E. Hill, McBride-Murry, Garcia-Coll, and Rowley) have sought to explore the contexts in which Black child development occurs, rather than seeking to explicate the ways in which children of Black families fall short of children of economically advantaged or White families. This research has illustrated the unique and trying context in which Black child development occurs. Specifically, this work has noted the varied challenges that racism, discrimination, and prejudice pose to the well-being and education of Black children (Garcia-Coll et. al.). This, too, is the context in which PAS occurs for Black families and the parent-adolescent dyads discussed in my work.

Scholarship has noted the ways in which civil rights activists struggled towards creating policies for inclusive and equitable education for Black people during the civil rights era and the twenty-first century (Fine, 2004). Combined with the high value Black parents place on education (Spera, Wentzel, & Matto, 2008) and the ongoing struggle for the advancement of Black communities/families/people via educational attainment, the contexts in which PAS messages operate for Black child development is likely complex. It is possible, for example that

messages of pressure, shame, effort, and balance take on a different or augmented meaning for Black parents with this socio-historical context in mind.

Moreover, research has asserted that Black parents' PAS goals/motives are informed by such socio-historic contexts as expressed above (e.g., slavery, Jim Crow, Brown v. Board of Education: Fine, 2004; Reynolds, 2010; Suizzo et al., 2012a; Suizzo et al., 2008). Black parents' PAS goals/motives are characterized by their desire to prepare their children to navigate a racialized world in which they will experience bias/discrimination (Suizzo et al., 2007; Williams, Banerjee, Lozada, Lambouths, & Rowley, under review) in addition to instilling values of self-determination (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Slaugher-Defoe, 2003) and self-worth (Neblett et al.,, 2006) in their children. Research has begun to document ways in which Black parents may place academic pressure on their children to defy racial stereotypes of misconduct and underperformance in Black students (Reynolds, 2010). Black parents' cultural models of academic socialization demonstrate an acknowledgement of the benefits of education (i.e., social mobility and knowledge acquisition), the existence of barriers to educational attainment for their children, and a determination to support their child's academic development despite any barriers to success (Suizzo et al., 2012a). The narratives of Black parents of preschool children suggest that Black parents are concerned about their children experiencing racial bias within the context of schooling or education and seek to protect them from and prepare them for such instances (Suizzo et al., 2008).

Using the knowledge that the social positioning of Black families within their communities has an influence on parenting contexts and parenting behavior, it is likely that PAS within Black families is also subject to the influence of parent's experienced racial contexts and the socio-historic context of Black families/communities. For example, parents focusing on how

hard Black people had to fight for a right to education may be more inclined to shame their Black child for less than desired academic performance or pressure them to conform to high academic standards in an effort to honor the efforts of those that may have given their lives to the struggle for Black education. Future research should consider the ways in which parents' racial ideologies influence PAS and intersect with PAS messages to effect Black adolescent development as there is some evidence to suggest that parents' racial identity has an influence on parenting (e.g., race socialization and involvement).

My colleagues and I assert that Black parents' racial identity, the ways in which parents see themselves as Black people in their communities, is one such racial and socio-historic context for parenting. That is, the ways in which parents view themselves as a Black person within their community and their perceptions on the role of race in their lives has an impact on their parenting. Specifically, we found that parents worked to prepare their children for experiences of racial bias when race was central to their identity, they held a high regard for their own racial group (i.e., private regard), and held Black nationalist views (Rowley, Varner, Ross, Williams, & Banerjee, 2012). Moreover, recent research has found that parents' private regard has a positive association with parent's home involvement and parent public regard (e.g., the regard parents perceive outgroup members have for their own racial group) is positively associated with school involvement (Ross, Marchand, Rowley, & Cox, in preparation). Similar research investigating the ways in which PAS is influenced by parents' racial and socio-historic contexts is needed.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the current research makes a number of important contributions to the parent academic socialization and parent-child concordance literature, this work also has a number of

limitations that can be addressed by future studies. Regarding measurement, internal consistency of parent-reported pressure and balance were low. Future research should engage in PAS scale development to address this limitation. Low internal consistency can have negative consequences on measurement estimates and also has the potential to bias estimates of structural relationships (MacKenzie, 2003). A new PAS measure with greater internal consistency in measurement of parent balance and pressure messages is needed to address this limitation.

Although this study captured a broad set of PAS messages, others may be important to assess. The ESS-M only captures messages of pressure, effort, balance, and shame. However, future research should consider a more comprehensive set of messages. For instance, parents' academic encouragement and support, messages about preparing for one's future, and strategies for success are other dimensions of PAS that can add to our knowledge of ways is which PAS messages are linked to academic development.

Academic support and encouragement are thought of as positive practices through which parents accommodate children's psychosocial needs and offer school-related support (Seginer & Vurmulst, 2002). Research has found positive relations between parental support and academic outcomes (Anderson, Funk, Elliott, & Smith, 2003). Future socialization has been defined as parental "comments about the relationship between education and the future" (Bempechat et al., 1999, p. 144) and has implications for positive academic outcomes. Research findings have indicated that "didactic academic coaching" has been positively linked to the promotion of skill acquisition in adolescents (Walker & Gresham, 2003, p.525). Parental communications facilitating child academic self-regulation has been positively linked to math and reading test scores (Martinez-Pons, 1996). Parents' strategies for success academic success can provide

further insight into the ways in which parents continue to influence the academic outcomes of adolescents.

As suggested in the discussion of PAS concordance and parent-adolescent PAS perspective findings, longitudinal study of PAS is needed to address the limitations of cross-sectional data. Socialization research suggests that parenting is a reciprocal relationship. Parents and children construct the parenting relationship together (Bell, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Sameroff, 1991) and the child is an active participant in this process. This research also suggests that child behaviors and processes have an impact on parenting (Bell, 1979). However, the potential bi-directionality of relations between PAS and adolescent outcomes cannot be assessed with concurrent data. To get a sense of the ways in which PAS and adolescent outcomes influence one another, autoregressive longitudinal modeling of PAS and adolescent outcomes is needed to determine whether adolescent academic and psychological functioning is more predictive of future PAS or if PAS is more predictive of future psychological and academic functioning in adolescents.

Finally, the findings of this work generalize to a specific population of Black families. The present work surveyed a specific population to address questions of PAS and its relation to adolescent well-being and academic functioning. There were limited significant findings between study demographic variables and PAS messages. Though preliminary analyses tested for a host of effects of school district, multiracial identification, and parent age, these variables demonstrated few relations with the frequency with which parents offered PAS messages. In offering further context for the findings from the present work, one must keep in mind that this dyadic parent-adolescent sample was drawn from a select suburban area of the Midwest to reflect SES diversity within varied school and neighborhood contexts and spanning developmental

stages where adolescents are in both middle and high school. As such, the findings of this work are generalizable to Black suburban parent-adolescent dyads across levels of parental age, education, family income, and varied school contexts.

Strengths of the Current Study

The current study has a number of methodological strengths, allowing this work to contribute to the parenting literature, both generally and specific to academic parenting. One such strength of this study is that it includes both predictors and outcomes reported by multiple informants. Scholars critique the sole use of parent and teacher reports of involvement to predict student outcomes (Walker et al, 2010). This work suggests that such research designs provide only some information about the ways in which parents have an influence on child outcomes (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Pomerantz et al., 2007; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbush, & Darling, 1992) and adds that adolescent perspectives of involvement should be examined in relation to their academic functioning and performance. Asserting that child perspectives should be considered in addition to parent perspectives is grounded in social learning theories where learners must attend to, retain, and reproduce information (Bandura, 1986; Rogoff, 1998; Vygotsky, 1978) and social constructivist theory that contends that learning is rooted in meaning-making (Piaget, 1952). This framing contends that adolescents and parents co-construct the parenting relationship and best captures the ways in which parenting and socialization influences child development and functioning. Scholars must examine the ways in which both perspectives are linked to outcomes of interest.

Further, research suggests that scholars' ability to predict student outcomes depends on the reporter of independent variables (Podsakoff et al., 2012; Pelegrina et al., 2003). For example, whether or not adolescents or parents report on parenting behavior as it relates to

student outcomes "student perceptions of involvement mattered more for achievement than did parent perceptions across all races and ethnicities and income levels" (Deismone, 1999, p. 20). This finding would suggest that student reports are the best predictors of student outcomes. Considering this, one may question why it was expected that parents' messages would be linked to adolescent outcomes. However, a large and continuously growing body of research on parent involvement suggests that parent-reported behaviors, even in adolescence, have an impact on the academic functioning of adolescents (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Hill & Wang, 2015; Kim & Hill, 2015). Moreover, in the present work, parent-reported PAS messages were linked to outcomes reported by their adolescent children and their children's teachers, in addition to their own reports of their children's outcomes.

Method bias, the measurement of multiple constructs using the same method at the same time point, can have an impact on the research findings using such data (Podsakoff et al., 2012). Podsakoff and colleagues state, "The major concern with measuring different constructs with the same method is the danger that at least some of the observed covariation between them may be due to the fact that they share the same method of measurement." This suggests that research using student-reported predictors and outcomes measured at the same time would be biased. To address this concern, I used multiple informant data. Utilizing multiple informant data allowed me to address the questions: In what ways/instances were adolescent-reported PAS messages only related to adolescent-reported outcomes? In what ways/instances were parent-reported PAS messages only related to parent- and teacher-reported outcomes? Relations between PAS and outcomes were found within reporter, adolescent PAS reports were linked to adolescent- and teacher-reported outcomes, and parent-reported PAS was linked to adolescent-, parent- and teacher-reported outcomes.

I chose not to combine outcome variables of different reporters. This could have compromised the interpretation of findings. For example, combining parent and child reports of preparation to create a single preparation latent variable could have been meaningful in understanding how parent and child reports of PAS relate to preparation as a construct. Yet, I would not be able to tease apart effects of method bias (e.g., the likelihood to find relationships where the same informant reports both the independent and dependent variables) and there may be unique effects within these outcomes based on the informant.

Another strength of my work is the use of a relative measure of concordance. Previous research has suggested that little concordance exists between parent and child reports of parenting (Achenbach et al. 1987; Feinberg et al., 2000) and that discordance has a negative impact on child outcomes (Achenbach et al., 1987). My work however, found that most parent-adolescent dyads reported similar frequencies of PAS in three out of the four PAS messages under investigation. Examining concordance via LPA allowed me to not only observe more concordance within dyads, but also allowed me to observe nuance between discordant dyads and conclude that discordance within dyads can be beneficial for adolescent outcomes under certain circumstances (e.g., adolescents perceive more positive socialization, like balance, than parents report).

Furthermore, this work adds to the PAS literature by examining multiple PAS messages. Rather than examining if parents speak with their adolescent about school, the present work examined four specific messages parents communicate. In doing so, this work deviated from the "more is better" approach to involvement literature by examining the frequency of both positively and negatively valence messages. This work begins to understand the

multidimensionality/complexity of PAS by examining the effects of each of these messages on various adolescent outcomes.

Finally, in addition to this works use of multiple informants, its novel approach to investigating concordance, and its inclusion of various PAS messages another strength of this this work is that it has done so among Black families representing a range of SES backgrounds.

Conclusion

I sought to address three limitations of socialization research in my dissertation research: 1) reliance on single informant data, 2), unidimensional constructions of PAS messages, and 3) lack of within group PAS findings (i.e., reliance on cross-racial/ethnic comparisons or White parents and children). To address these limitations I employed a multidimensional construction of academic socialization messages reported by parents and their Black adolescent child to assess the ways in which both parent and adolescent PAS perspectives were associated with adolescents academic and psychological functioning. I have found that both perspectives matter in unique ways to adolescent outcomes. Through examination of concordance I found that adolescents in dyads where parent report greater use of pressure messages had the least desirable outcomes and adolescents reporting a greater frequency of effort messages had the best outcomes. Moreover, my SEM of PAS suggests that in the context of adolescent reports, parent socialization perspectives are still relevant for adolescents' well-being and academic functioning. This work suggests that perspective does matter in our examinations of socialization and its impact on child development. Additionally, my work offers support for Eccles' model of parental influences (Eccles, 2007) and expectancy value theory (Eccles & Harold, 1983). I found that parenting practices have both a direct and indirect influence on child outcomes of self-perceptions, motivation, engagement, and performance via child socialization perspectives. In sum, both what

parents actually do (i.e., what parents say they do), and the parenting adolescents experience (i.e., what adolescents say parents do) play a role in adolescents' academic functioning.: perspective matters.

Appendices

Appendix A: Theoretical Models

Eccles' Model of Parental Influences
(MPI, Eccles, 2007)

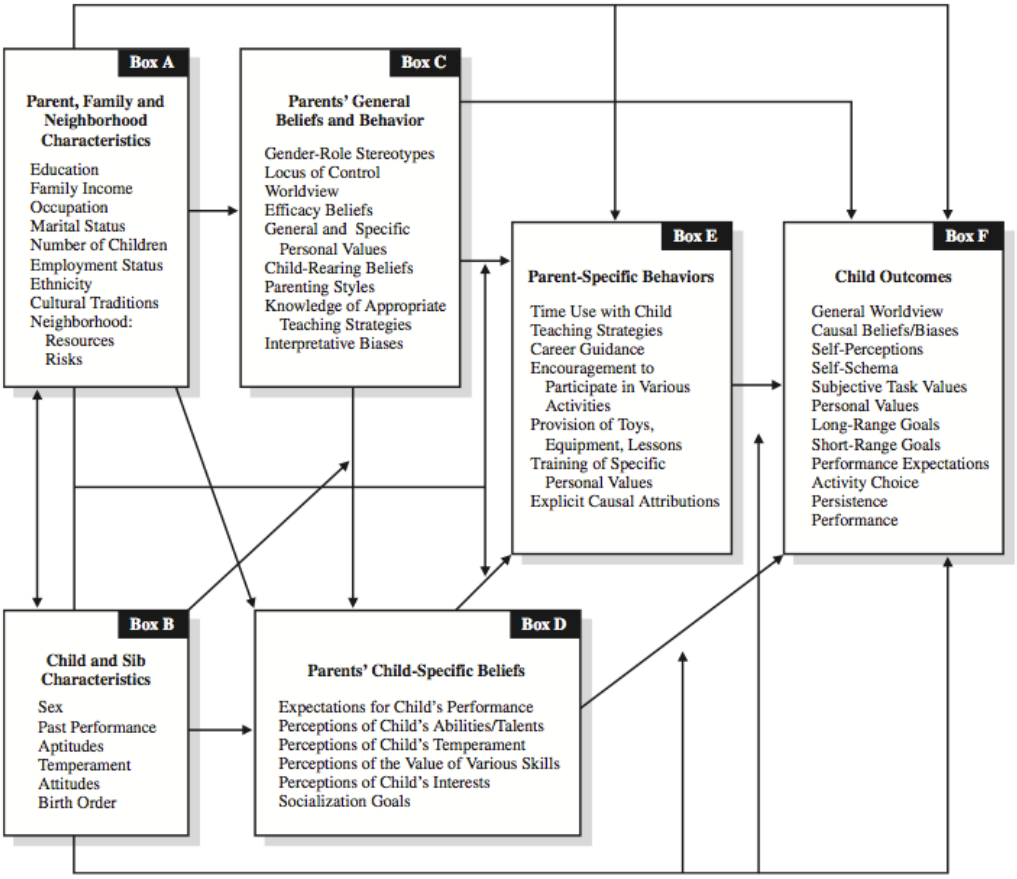


Figure 15.2 Model of parental influences on children's motivation and achievement.

Figure A1. 1 Model of Parental Influences

Eccles Expectancy Value Theory
(EVT, Eccles, 2007)

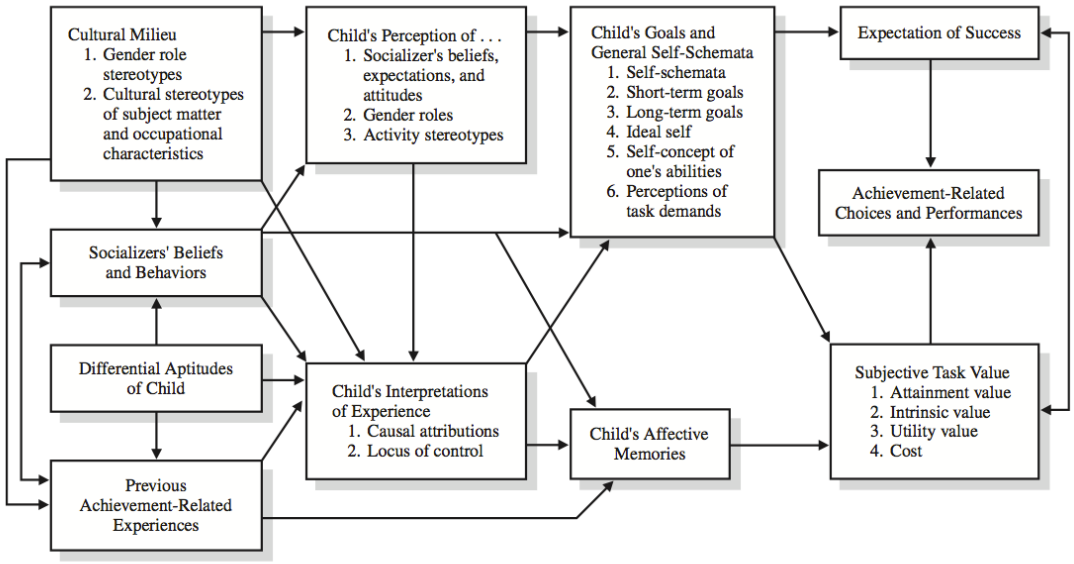


Figure 15.1 Eccles and colleagues' motivational model of achievement performance and choice.

Figure A1. 2 Expectancy Value Theory Model

Parental Involvement Process Model
(PIP, Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995)

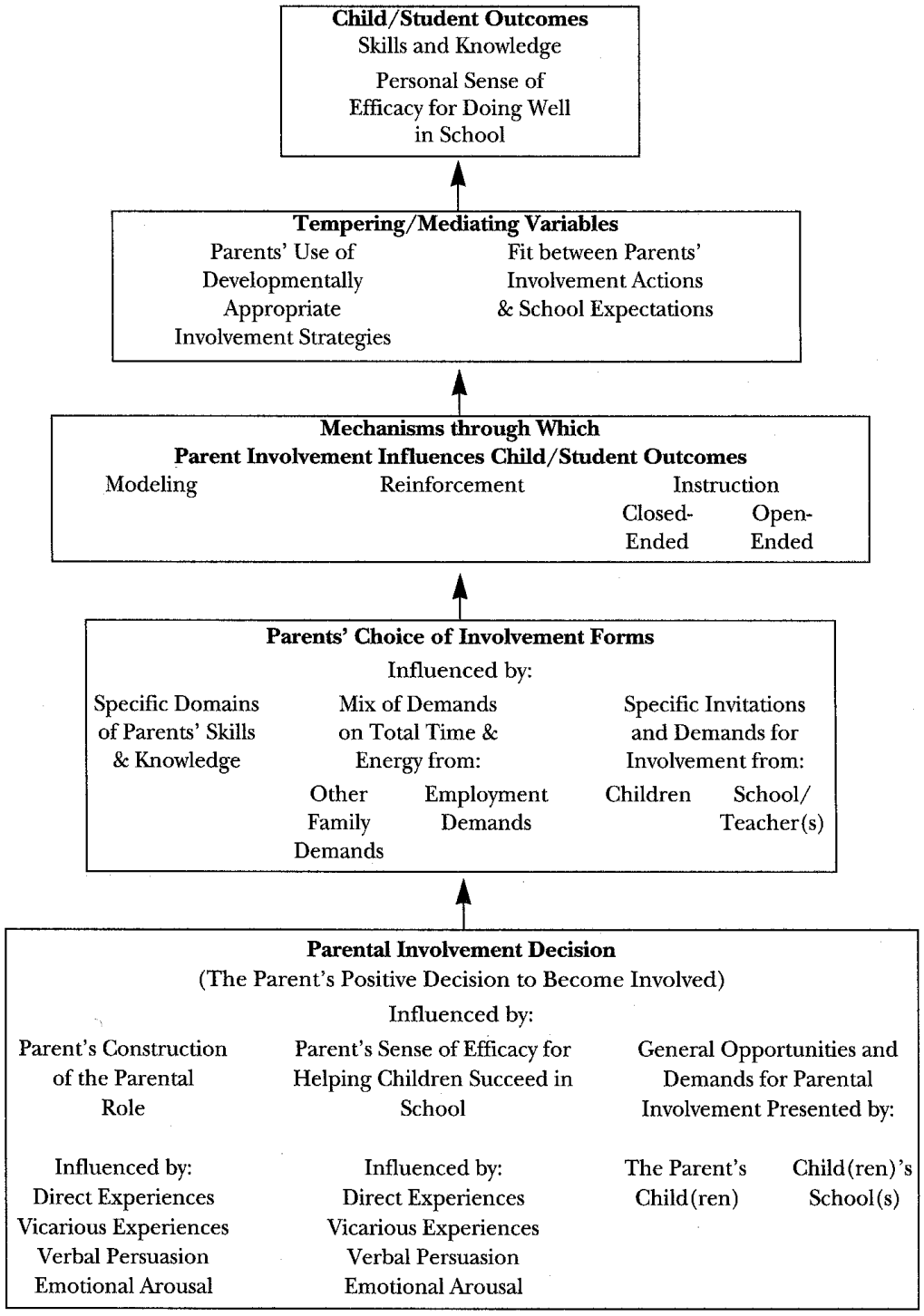


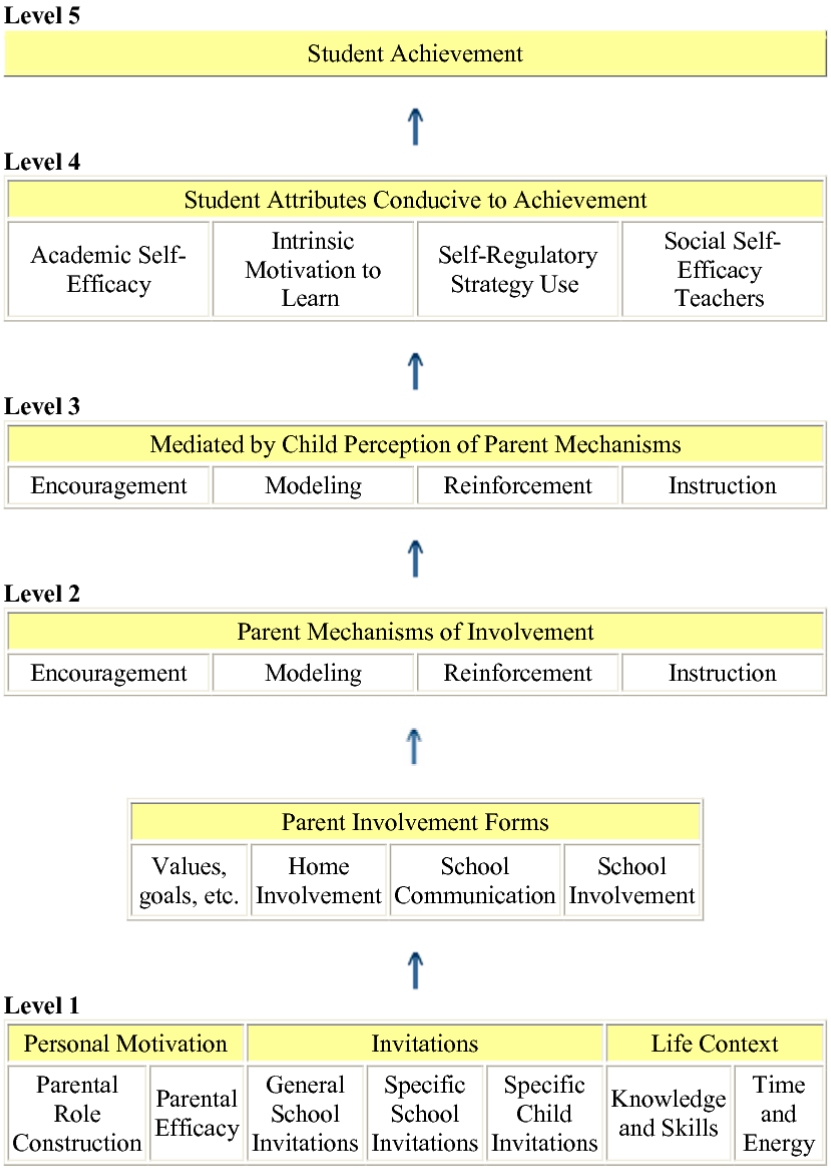
Figure 2. Causal and Specific Model of Parental Involvement, Focused on Variables of Major Significance That Are Also Subject to Intervention and Change

Figure A1. 3 Parent Involvement Process Model

Modified Parental Involvement Process Model
(Walker et al., 2010)

The Model

The Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler Model of Parental Involvement



Adapted from Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; 2005.

Figure A1. 4 Modified Parental Process Model

Appendix B: Measures

Parental Academic Socialization Measurement (ESS-M): Adolescent Items

C1: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) put pressure on me to do well in school. (Pressure)
C2: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) force me to get involved with school activities even if I don't want to. (Pressure)
C3: I worry that I can't do as well in school as my parent(s)/ caregiver(s) expect me to. (Pressure)
C4: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) are understanding when I don't do well in school. (Balance)
C5: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) are more concerned that I do my best in school than that I get a particular grade. (Balance)
C6: It is as important to my parent(s)/caregiver(s) for me to be happy as it is for me to do well in school. (Balance)
C7: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) standards for my school performance are so high that I cannot meet them. (Pressure)
C8: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) give me extra problems the teacher hasn't yet. (Pressure)
C9: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) say I could do better in school if I worked harder. (Effort)
C10: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) say you can get smarter and smarter as long as you try hard. (Effort)
C11: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) say if I don't do well on a test, it's probably because I didn't study hard enough or long enough. (Effort)
C12: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) say I can get good grades in school as long as I always try hard. (Effort)
C13: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) make me feel ashamed if I do badly in school. (Shame)
C14: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) punish me when I don't do well in school. (Shame)
C15: My parent(s)/caregiver(s) feel ashamed when I do badly in school. (Shame)

Parental Academic Socialization Measurement (ESS-M): Parent Items

P1: I put pressure on my Target Child to do well in school. (Pressure)
P2: I force my Target Child get involved with school activities, even if he or she doesn't want to. (Pressure
P3: I worry that my Target Child can't do as well in school as I expect him/her to. (Pressure)
P4: I am understanding when my Target Child doesn't do well in school. (Balance)
P5: I am more concerned that my Target Child does his or her best in school than that he/she gets a particular grade. (Balance)
P6: It is as important to me for my Target Child to be happy as it is for my Target Child to do well in school. (Balance)
P7: I have very high standards for my Target Child's school performance. (Pressure)
P8: I give my Target Child extra problems the teacher hasn't yet. (Pressure)
P9: I tell my Target Child that he/she could do better in school if he/she worked harder. (Effort)
P10: I tell my Target Child that he/she can get smarter and smarter as long as he/she tries hard. (Effort)
P11: I tell my Target Child that if she/he doesn't do well on a test, it's probably because she/he didn't study hard enough or long enough. (Effort)
P12: I tell my Target Child that she/he can get good grades in school as long as she/he always tries hard. (Effort)
P13: I make my Target Child feel ashamed if she/he does badly in school. (Shame)
P14: I punish my Target Child when she/he doesn't do well in school. (Shame)

Adolescent Well-being

I often feel lonely because I have few close friends.
I am the kind of person who likes to give new things a try.
I am not afraid to voice my opinions, even when they are in opposition to the opinions of most people.
In general, I feel I am in charge of my life.
I feel good when I think of what I've done in the past and what I hope to do.
In general, I feel confident and positive about myself.
I feel like I get a lot out of my friendships.
In my view, people of every age are able to keep growing and developing.
My decisions are not usually influenced by what everyone else is doing.
The demands of everyday life often get me down.
I have a sense of direction and purpose in life.
If I could, there are many things about myself that I would change.
I find it difficult to really open up when I talk with others.
I feel that I have developed a lot as a person over time.
I tend to worry about what other people think of me.
I am quite good at managing the responsibilities of my daily life.
I don't have a good sense of what I'm trying to accomplish in life.
I like most aspects of my personality.
My friends and I sympathize with each other's problems.
I enjoy being in new situations that require me to change my ways of doing things.
I often change my mind about decisions if my friends or family disagree.
I often feel overwhelmed by my responsibilities.
I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them happen.
For the most part, I am proud of who I am.

Preparation

Parent Items:
Usually, how prepared is your child for tests at school?
How prepared, typically, is your child with homework assignments?

Adolescent Items:
Usually, how prepared are you for tests at school?
How prepared, typically, are you with homework assignments?

Classroom Engagement

Adolescent Persistence Items:
If I can't get a problem right the first time, I just keep trying.
When I do badly on a test, I work harder next time.
If I don't understand something right away, I stop trying.
When I have trouble understanding something, I give up.

Teacher Persistence Items:
If this student can't get a problem right the first time, s/he just keeps trying.
When this student does badly on a test, s/he works harder next time.
If this student doesn't understand something right away, s/he stops trying.
When this student has trouble understanding something, s/he gives up.

Teacher Rating of Student Competence

In comparison to classmates, how strong is the student academically?
In comparison to classmates, how motivated is the student to do his or her best school work?
In comparison to classmates, how well behaved is the student?
In comparison to classmates, how happy/well adjusted is the student?

Appendix C: Exploratory Analyses

The Context of Parental Academic Socialization:

Correlates of Adolescent and Parent PAS

Race Socialization

Generally, race socialization was positively related to adolescent and parent PAS with two exceptions: 1) parents' messages of self-worth were mildly linked to less parental shame messages, and 2) adolescents' reports of negative messages about African Americans were linked to fewer adolescent effort messages (see Table 6.1). Overall, PAS by race socialization correlations were small to moderate in strength of relation; relations emerged primarily when adolescents were the reporter of both PAS and race socialization.

Racial Identity

Positive relations between racial identity and PAS were found with two exceptions (see Table 6.2). Parent's racial centrality and private regard were negatively associated with their pressure messages.

Discrimination

Adolescents' general and school-based discrimination were positively associated with both parent and adolescent PAS messages (see Table 6.3), with one exception; adolescents' general discrimination was negatively associated with balance messages reported by adolescents. As adolescents experience more discrimination, both at school and in general, they report less optimal PAS and parents report slightly more pressure and shame. Parents' own experiences of

general discrimination were positively related with messages of shame. This is not reflected in adolescent reports of shame in relation to parents' discrimination experiences.

Parent Well-being

Parent well-being was associated with both adolescent and parent PAS messages (see Table 6.3). Parents higher in well-being had adolescents that reported more effort messages. Also, parents higher in well-being reported less pressure and shame messages.

Parent Involvement and School Trust

Adolescent reports of home-based involvement were associated with adolescent reports of more effort and balance messages (see Table 6.4). Parent reports of home-based involvement were positively associated with adolescent reports of balance and parent reports of effort. Parents' school-based involvement was not associated with PAS messages. Parent school trust was unrelated to PAS messages.

Aspirations & Expectations

Adolescent aspirations (i.e., how far they want to go in their education) were unrelated to both adolescent and parent PAS messages (see Table 6.4). Adolescent expectations (i.e., how far they expect to go in their education) were negatively related to adolescent-reported pressure and positively related to adolescent-reported effort. Parent's expectations were negatively related to parent reports of pressure. Teacher expectations were negatively related to adolescent reports of pressure balance and shame and parents messages of effort. However, teacher expectations were positively related to parent reports of pressure.

Parenting

Adolescent reports of parenting were generally positively associated with adolescent reports of PAS messages with one exception (see Table 6.5). Adolescent reports of problem

solving were negatively associated with pressure messages. Parent reports of parenting have both positive and negative relations to parent reports of PAS messages. Parental monitoring was associated with more balance messages. Parent problem-solving was negatively associated with messages of pressure and shame. Overall, PAS by parenting correlations were small to moderate in strength of relation and relationships emerged primarily when adolescents were the reporter of both PAS and race socialization.

Table A2.1

PAS by Race Socialization Correlations

	Adolescent				Parent			
	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame
Adolescent								
Egalitarian	.149*	.361***	.269***	.110†	.057	-.041	-.078	-.032
Negative	.218***	-.120*	-.054	.137*	.048	.023	-.052	.059
Barrier	.219***	.312***	.003	.251***	.140*	.069	-.049	.041
Pride	.138*	.369***	.202***	.129*	.051	.006	-.053	.013
Behavioral	.173**	.341***	.077	.162**	.113†	-.001	-.019	.063
Self-worth	.052	.355***	.278***	.033	.050	-.021	-.012	-.067
Implicit	.072	.166**	-.002	.042	.123*	.046	.041	.079
Parent								
Egalitarian	.083	.208***	.114†	.042	.074	.090	.017	-.024
Negative	.097†	.008	.002	.024	.126*	.110†	-.010	.139*
Barrier	.090	.189**	.042	.010	.137*	.151*	.003	.085
Pride	.045	.189**	.038	.058	.009	.041	.015	-.042
Behavioral	.135*	.190**	.042	.180	.101†	.022	.014	.014
Self-worth	.063	.084**	.110†	.022	-.104†	.010	-.057	-.129*

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Table A2.2

PAS by Racial Identity Correlations

	Adolescent				Parent			
	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame
Adolescent								
Centrality	.015	.159**	.074	.090	-.017	-.027	.014	-.036
Private Regard	-.049	.076	.216***	-.060	-.085	-.030	-.033	-.065
Public Regard	.029	.131*	.277***	.053	-.063	.042	.004	-.052
Humanism	-.022	.166**	.118*	-.036	-.050	-.065	-.061	-.048
Minority	-.080	.207***	.186**	.009	-.089	-.085	-.011	.103†
Nationalist	.071	.138*	.074	.026	.033	.025	-.038	.010
Assimilationist	.173**	.012	-.073	.105†	.153**	.055	-.083	.101†
Parent								
Centrality	.005	.108†	.059	.031	-.122*	.039	-.048	-.076
Private Regard	-.017	.089	.084	.002	-.172**	-.037	-.038	-.105†
Public Regard	-.009	-.019	-.095	.116†	-.081	.057	.084	.044
Humanism	.038	.011	.020	.002	-.110†	-.040	.064	-.043
Minority	.027	.009	.026	.024	-.099	.028	.016	-.006
Nationalist	-.014	.072	.048	.001	.053	.075	-.014	.074
Assimilationist	-.028	.131*	.031	.037	-.009	.010	.025	.034

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Table A2.3

PAS, Discrimination, and Parent Well-being Correlations

	Adolescent				Parent			
	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame
General Discrimination (A)	.311***	.130*	-.125*	.333***	.112†	.085	-.098	.150*
School-based Discrimination (A)	.325***	.015	-.080	.288***	.144*	.078	-.009	.175**
General Discrimination (P)	.045	-.003	.059	.015	.086	.023	-.034	.175**
Well-being (P)	.012	.121*	.011	.068	-.215***	-.027	.023	-.170**

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Table A2.4

PAS, Involvement, Parent School Trust, and Expectations Correlations

	Adolescent				Parent			
	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame
Home-based Involve (A)	.051	.198**	.251***	-.017	.037	.070	.039	-.033
Home-based Involve (P)	.073	.091	.120*	.030	-.016	.171**	.039	-.069
School-based (P)	.115	.076	.090	.082	.106	.086	.057	.054
General School Trust (P)	-.039	-.039	-.001	-.051	-.058	-.016	.033	-.062
Racialized School Trust (P)	.020	-.016	.037	.002	-.107†	-.030	-.058	-.039
Aspirations (A)	-.098†	.057	.023	-.086	-.060	.030	.018	-.031
Expectations (A)	-.149*	.166**	.082	-.106†	-.039	-.017	.067	-.017
Expectations (P)	-.071	-.057	-.101†	.012	-.116*	-.009	.037	.021
Expectations (T)	-.236***	-.084	-.142*	-.207**	.150*	-.156*	.010	-.112

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

Table A2.5

PAS by Parenting Correlations

	Adolescent				Parent			
	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame	Pressure	Effort	Balance	Shame
Adolescent								
Monitoring	-.108†	.247***	.255***	-.011	-.047	-.035	.091	-.036
Inconsistent Discipline	.230***	.021	-.024	.153**	.079	.035	-.062	.068
Inductive Reasoning	.045	.276***	.375***	.122*	-.045	-.011	.062	-.044
Problem Solving	-.114*	.232***	.383***	-.085	-.061	-.010	.119*	-.101†
Parent								
Monitoring	-.012	.071	.065	.002	-.094	.015	.129*	-.094
Inconsistent Discipline	.040	-.070	.022	.004	.094	.004	.023	.017
Inductive Reasoning	-.055	.054	.119*	-.050	-.026	.069	.111†	-.066
Problem Solving	.032	.067	.052	.033	-.158**	.032	.106†	-.121*

†p<.1; *p<.05; **,p<.01;***,p<.001

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